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OF
C. G. JUNG

VOLUME 5

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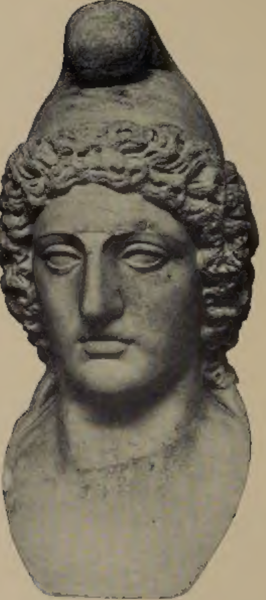

The Ostian head of Mithras
Roman

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1967

SYMBOLS
OF
TRANSFORMATION

AN ANALYSIS OF THE PRELUDE TO A CASE OF SCHIZOPHRENIA

C. G. JUNG

SECOND EDITION

TRANSLATED BY R. F. C. HULL

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EDITORIAL NOTE

As the author's Foreword indicates, the volume from which the present translation has been made is an extensive revision, published in 1952, of *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido,* published in 1912.* The reasons for this revision and its extent are explained by Dr. Jung and need no further comment here.

The present translation differs in certain respects from the revised Swiss edition. First of all, the number of illustrations has been reduced. In the Swiss edition, these had been inserted to amplify the text rather than to illustrate. It seemed to the Editors that the illustrations sometimes had the disadvantage of interrupting the text unduly, and after careful consideration it was decided that only those having a direct relevance to the text should be included. Among these, some new photographs and substitutions have been used. Secondly, an appendix containing the complete Miller fantasies has been added. Since these were available only in a French text published in 1906 in the *Archives de psychologie,* a translation by Philip Mairet has been provided. The textual quotations are also from this translation. Other differences from the Swiss edition result from bringing the volume into conformity with the general plan for the Collected Works. A bibliography has been added, and accordingly the references in the footnotes have been somewhat shortened.

In respect to the quotations from various languages, special mention must be made of the work of Dr. A. Wasserstein and Dr. Marie-Louise von Franz in checking and translating some of the Latin and Greek texts. The philological material has been checked over by Dr. Leopold Stein.

---

* First published in two parts in the *Jahrbuch für psychoanalytische und psychopathologische Forschungen* (Leipzig), III–IV (1911–12), and republished the same year as a book by Deuticke Verlag, Leipzig and Vienna. An English translation, by Dr. Beatrice M. Hinkle, entitled *Psychology of the Unconscious,* was published in 1916 by Moffatt Yard and Co., New York, and in 1917 by Kegan Paul, London. Translations have also appeared in Dutch, French, and Italian.

EDITORIAL NOTE TO THE SECOND EDITION

For this edition, appearing ten years after the first, bibliographical citations and entries have been revised in the light of subsequent publications in the *Collected Works* and in the Standard Edition of Freud's works, some translations have been substituted in quotations, and other essential corrections have been made, but there have been no changes of substance in the text.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

During the preparation of this volume, the text of the original English translation by Beatrice M. Hinkle, first published in America in 1916 under the title *Psychology of the Unconscious,* was freely consulted. Certain of the quotations of poetry there rendered by Louis Untermeyer have been taken over into the present edition, sometimes with slight modifications. For some of the quotations from *Faust,* I am indebted to Philip Wayne, both for extracts from his published version of Part 1 and for passages from Part 2 specially translated for this volume. Quotations from Latin and Greek sources are taken when possible from existing translations, but mostly they are of a composite nature, resulting from comparison of the existing translations with the original texts and with the German versions used by the author, who in some cases translated direct from the originals. For the purpose of comparison, reference is sometimes made, in square brackets, to an existing translation although it has not been quoted.

For the 1974 printing, the Author's Note to the first American/English edition has been added on p. xxx.

NOTE OF ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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Allen and Unwin, London, for a passage from Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams;* O. W. Barth, Munich: a plate from Wachlmayr, *Das Christgeburtsbild der frühen Sakralkunst;* Professor W. Norman Brown: passages from his translation of the Rig-Veda; Bruckmann Verlag, Munich: an illustration from J. J. Bernoulli, *Die erhaltenen Darstellungen Alexanders des Grossen;* Clarendon Press, Oxford: a passage from John Todhunter's translation of Heine and an illustration from the catalogue of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome, edited by H. S. Jones for the British School at Rome; Diederichs Verlag, Düsseldorf: a plate from Wirth, *Der Aufgang der Menschheit;* Dodd, Mead and Co., New York: for the use of material originally appearing in Beatrice Hinkle's translation of Jung's *Psychology of the Unconscious;* Folkwang Verlag, Hagen i. W.: a plate from Fuhrmann, *Reich der Inka;* Friedrichsen Verlag, Hamburg: figures from Danzel, *Symbole, Dämonen, und heilige Türme;* Harcourt, Brace and Co.: passages from Untermeyer's translation of Heine and Cornford's translation of Plato's *Timaeus;* Harvard University Press: passages from the Loeb Classical Library editions of Ovid, Seneca, Virgil, and the Homeric Hymns; William Heinemann, London: passages from the Thomas and Guillemard translation of Rostand's *Cyrano de Bergerac;* Hoepli, Milan: a plate from Prampolini, *La Mitologia nella vita dei popoli;* The Hogarth Press; quotations from the Standard Edition of the Works of Sigmund Freud and the Collected Papers of Sigmund Freud; Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston: passages from Longfellow's *Hiawatha;* H. Keller Verlag, Berlin: a plate from Deubner, *Attische Feste;* Librairie Larousse, Paris: two plates from Guirand, *Mythologie générale;* Macmillan and Co., New York: a quotation from Baldwin, *Thoughts*

and Things, and translations from Nietzsche's works, and figs. 28 and 33, from *The Mythology of All Races,* II; The Medici Society, London, for an illustration from Budge's *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection,* I; Methuen and Co., London: figs. 5, 24, and 27 and Pl. XLI*b*, from Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians;* Oxford University Press, New York: passages from Louis MacNeice's translation of *Faust;* Penguin Books: passages from Rieu's translation of the Iliad and the Odyssey, de Selincourt's translation of Herodotus, Wayne's translation of *Faust,* and Hamilton's translation of Plato; Princeton University Press: passages from E. A. Speiser's translations in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts;* Reimer Verlag, Berlin: a plate from LeCoq, *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien;* Schwann Verlag, Düsseldorf: a plate from Clemen, *Die romanische Wandmalerei des Rheinlands;* Seeman Verlag, Cologne: a plate from Cohn, *Buddha in der Kunst des Ostens;* Sheed and Ward, New York: passages from F. J. Sheed's translation of the *Confessions* of St. Augustine; Stubenrauch Verlag, Berlin: a plate from Spiess, *Marksteine der Volkskunst;* Editions Tel, Paris: a photograph of Strasbourg Cathedral, by Marc Foucault; Mr. Philip Wayne: passages from his unpublished translation of *Faust,* Part II.

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FOREWORD TO THE FOURTH (SWISS) EDITION [1]

I have long been conscious of the fact that this book, which was written thirty-seven years ago, stood in urgent need of revision, but my professional obligations and my scientific work never left me sufficient leisure to settle down in comfort to this unpleasant and difficult task. Old age and illness released me at last from my professional duties and gave me the necessary time to contemplate the sins of my youth. I have never felt happy about this book, much less satisfied with it: it was written at top speed, amid the rush and press of my medical practice, without regard to time or method. I had to fling my material hastily together, just as I found it. There was no opportunity to let my thoughts mature. The whole thing came upon me like a landslide that cannot be stopped. The urgency that lay behind it became clear to me only later: it was the explosion of all those psychic contents which could find no room, no breathing-space, in the constricting atmosphere of Freudian psychology and its narrow outlook. I have no wish to denigrate Freud, or to detract from the extraordinary merits of his investigation of the individual psyche. But the conceptual framework into which he fitted the psychic phenomenon seemed to me unendurably narrow. I am not thinking here of his theory of neurosis, which can be as narrow as it pleases if only it is adequate to the empirical facts, or of his theory of dreams, about which different views may be held in all good faith; I am thinking more of the reductive causalism of his whole outlook, and the almost complete disregard of the teleological directedness which is so characteristic of everything psychic. Although Freud's book *The Future of an Illusion* dates from his later years, it gives the best possible account of his earlier views, which move within the confines of the outmoded rationalism and scientific materialism of the late nineteenth century.

As might be expected, my book, born under such conditions, consisted of larger or smaller fragments which I could only string together in an unsatisfying manner. It was an attempt, only partially successful, to create a wider setting for medical psychology and to bring the whole of the psychic phenomenon within its purview. One of my principal aims was to free medical psychology from the subjective and personalistic bias that characterized its outlook at that time, and to make it possible to understand the unconscious as an objective and collective psyche. The personalism in the views of Freud and Adler that went hand in hand with the individualism of the nineteenth century failed to satisfy me because, except in the case of instinctive dynamisms (which actually have too little place in Adler), it left no room for objective, impersonal facts. Freud, accordingly, could see no objective justification for my attempt, but suspected personal motives.

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[1] [The edition here translated.—EDITORS.]

Thus this book became a landmark, set up on the spot where two ways divided. Because of its imperfections and its incompleteness it laid down the programme to be followed for the next few decades of my life. Hardly had I finished the manuscript when it struck me what it means to live with a myth, and what it means to live without one. Myth, says a Church Father, is "what is believed always, everywhere, by everybody"; hence the man who thinks he can live without myth, or outside it, is an exception. He is like one uprooted, having no true link either with the past, or with the ancestral life which continues within him, or yet with contemporary human society. He does not live in a house like other men, does not eat and drink like other men, but lives a life of his own, sunk in a subjective mania of his own devising, which he believes to be the newly discovered truth. This plaything of his reason never grips his vitals. It may occasionally lie heavy on his stomach, for that organ is apt to reject the products of reason as indigestible. The psyche is not of today; its ancestry goes back many millions of years. Individual consciousness is only the flower and the fruit of a season, sprung from the perennial rhizome beneath the earth; and it would find itself in better accord with the truth if it took the existence of the rhizome into its calculations. For the root matter is the mother of all things.

So I suspected that myth had a meaning which I was sure to miss if I lived outside it in the haze of my own speculations. I was driven to ask myself in all seriousness: "What is the myth you are living?" I found no answer to this question, and had to admit that I was not living with a myth, or even in a myth, but rather in an uncertain cloud of theoretical possibilities which I was beginning to regard with increasing distrust. I did not know that I was living a myth, and even if I had known it, I would not have known what sort of myth was ordering my life without my knowledge. So, in the most natural way, I took it upon myself to get to know "my" myth, and I regarded this as the task of tasks, for—so I told myself—how could I, when treating my patients, make due allowance for the personal factor, for my personal equation, which is yet so necessary for a knowledge of the other person, if I was unconscious of it? I simply had to know what unconscious or preconscious myth was forming me, from what rhizome I sprang. This resolve led me to devote many years of my life to investigating the subjective contents which are the products of unconscious processes, and to work out methods which would enable us, or at any rate help us, to explore the manifestations of the unconscious. Here I discovered, bit by bit, the connecting links that I should have known about before if I was to join up the fragments of my book. I do not know whether I have succeeded in this task now, after a lapse of thirty-seven years. Much pruning had to be done, many gaps filled. It has proved impossible to preserve the style of 1912, for I had to incorporate many things that I found out only many years later. Nevertheless I have tried, despite a number of radical interventions, to leave as much of the original edifice standing as possible, for the sake of continuity with previous editions. And although the alterations are considerable, I do not think one could say that it has turned into a different book. There can be no question of that because the whole thing is really only an extended commentary on a practical analysis of the prodromal stages of schizophrenia. The symptoms of the case form the Ariadne thread to guide us through the labyrinth of symbolistic parallels, that is, through the amplifications which are absolutely essential if we wish to establish the meaning of the archetypal context. As soon as these parallels come to be worked out they take up an incredible amount of space, which is why expositions of case histories are such an arduous task. But that is only to be expected: the deeper you go, the broader the base becomes. It certainly does not become narrower, and it never by any chance ends in a point—in a psychic trauma, for instance. Any such theory presupposes a knowledge of the traumatically affected psyche which no human being possesses, and which can only be laboriously acquired by investigating the workings of the unconscious. For this a great deal of comparative material is needed, and it cannot be dispensed with any more than in comparative anatomy. Knowledge of the subjective contents of consciousness means very little, for it tells us next to nothing about the real, subterranean life of the psyche. In psychology as in every science a fairly wide knowledge of other subjects is among the requisites for research work. A nodding acquaintance with the theory and pathology of neurosis is totally inadequate, because medical knowledge of this kind is merely information about an illness, but not knowledge of the soul that is ill. I wanted, so far as lay within my power, to redress that evil with this book—then as now.

This book was written in 1911, in my thirty-sixth year. The time is a critical one, for it marks the beginning of the second half of life, when a metanoia, a mental transformation, not infrequently occurs. I was acutely conscious, then, of the loss of friendly relations with Freud and of the lost comradeship of our work together. The practical and moral support which my wife gave me at that difficult period is something I shall always hold in grateful remembrance.

September, 1950 C. G. JUNG

FOREWORD TO THE THIRD (GERMAN) EDITION

The new edition of this book appears essentially unaltered, except for a few textual improvements which hardly affect its content.

This book has to perform the thankless task of making clear to my contemporaries that the problems of the human psyche cannot be tackled with the meagre equipment of the doctor's consulting-room, any more than they can be tackled with the layman's famous "understanding of the world and human nature." Psychology cannot dispense with the contribution made by the humane sciences, and certainly not with that made by the history of the human mind. For it is history above all that today enables us to bring the huge mass of empirical material into ordered relationships and to recognize the functional significance of the collective contents of the unconscious. The psyche is not something unalterably given, but a product of its own continuous development. Hence altered glandular secretions or aggravated personal relationships are not the sole causes of neurotic conflicts; these can equally well be caused by historically conditioned attitudes and mental factors. Scientific and medical knowledge is in no sense sufficient to grasp the nature of the soul, nor does the psychiatric understanding of pathological processes help to integrate them into the totality of the psyche. Similarly, mere rationalization is not an adequate instrument. History teaches us over and over again that, contrary to rational expectation, irrational factors play the largest, indeed the decisive, role in all processes of psychic transformation.

It seems as if this insight were slowly making headway with the somewhat drastic assistance of contemporary events.

November, 1937 C. G. JUNG

FOREWORD TO THE SECOND (GERMAN) EDITION

In this second edition the text of the book remains, for technical reasons, unaltered. The reappearance of this book after twelve years, without alterations, does not mean that I did not consider certain emendations and improvements desirable. But such improvements would have affected details only, and not anything essential. The views and opinions I expressed in the book I would still maintain, in substance and in principle, today. I must ask the reader to bear patiently with a number of minor inaccuracies and uncertainties of detail.

This book has given rise to a good deal of misunderstanding. It has even been suggested that it represents my method of treatment. Apart from the fact that such a method would be a practical impossibility, the book is far more concerned with working out the fantasy material of an unknown young American woman, pseudonymously known as Frank Miller. This material was originally published by my respected and fatherly friend, the late Théodore Flournoy, in the *Archives de psychologie* (Geneva). I had the great satisfaction of hearing from his own lips that I had hit off the young woman's mentality very well. Valuable confirmation of this reached me in 1918, through an American colleague who was treating Miss Miller for the schizophrenic disturbance which had broken out after her sojourn in Europe. He wrote to say that my exposition of the case was so exhaustive that even personal acquaintance with the patient had not taught him "one iota more" about her mentality. This confirmation led me to conclude that my reconstruction of the semi-conscious and unconscious fantasy processes had evidently hit the mark in all essential respects.

There is, however, one very common misunderstanding which I feel I ought to point out to the reader. The copious use of comparative mythological and etymological material necessitated by the peculiar nature of the Miller fantasies may evoke the impression, among certain readers, that the purpose of this book is to propound mythological or etymological hypotheses. This is far from my intention, for if it had been, I would have undertaken to analyse a particular myth or whole corpus of myths, for instance an American Indian myth-cycle. For that purpose I would certainly not have chosen Longfellow's *Hiawatha,* any more than I would have used Wagner's *Siegfried* had I wished to analyse the cycle of the younger Edda. I use the material quoted in the book because it belongs, directly or indirectly, to the basic assumptions of the Miller fantasies, as I have explained more fully in the text. If, in this work, various mythologems are shown in a light which makes their psychological meaning more intelligible, I have mentioned this insight simply as a welcome by-product, without claiming to propound any general theory of myths. The real purpose of this book is confined to working out the implications of all those historical and spiritual factors which come together in the involuntary products of individual fantasy. Besides the obvious personal sources, creative fantasy also draws upon the forgotten and long buried primitive mind with its host of images, which are to be found in the mythologies of all ages and all peoples. The sum of these images constitutes the collective unconscious, a heritage which is potentially present in every individual. It is the psychic correlate of the differentiation of the human brain. This is the reason why mythological images are able to arise spontaneously over and over again, and to agree with one another not only in all the corners of the wide earth, but at all times. As they are present always and everywhere, it is an entirely natural proceeding to relate mythologems, which may be very far apart both temporally and ethnically, to an individual fantasy system. The creative substratum is everywhere this same human psyche and this same human brain, which, with relatively minor variations, functions everywhere in the same way.

Küsnacht/Zurich, November, 1924 C. G. JUNG

AUTHOR'S NOTE TO THE FIRST AMERICAN/ENGLISH EDITION

My task in this work has been to investigate an individual fantasy system, and in the doing of it problems of such magnitude have been uncovered that my endeavour to grasp them in their entirety has necessarily meant only a superficial orientation toward those paths the opening and exploration of which may possibly crown the work of future investigators with success.

I am not in sympathy with the attitude which favours the repression of certain possible working hypotheses because they are perhaps erroneous, and so may possess no lasting value. Certainly I endeavoured as far as possible to guard myself from error, which might indeed become especially dangerous upon these dizzy heights, for I am entirely aware of the risks of these investigations. However, I do not consider scientific work as a dogmatic contest, but rather as a work done for the increase and deepening of knowledge.

This contribution is addressed to those having similar ideas concerning science.

In conclusion, I must render thanks to those who have assisted my endeavours with valuable aid, especially my dear wife and my friends, to whose disinterested assistance I am deeply indebted.

C. G. Jung

Zurich [*1916?*]

I

Therefore theory, which gives facts their value and significance, is often very useful, even if it is partially false, because it throws light on phenomena which no one has observed, it forces an examination, from many angles, of facts which no one has hitherto studied, and provides the impulse for more extensive and more productive researches. . . .

Hence it is a moral duty for the man of science to expose himself to the risk of committing error, and to submit to criticism in order that science may continue to progress. A writer . . . has launched a vigorous attack on the author, saying that this is a scientific ideal which is very limited and very paltry. . . . But those who are endowed with a mind serious and impersonal enough not to believe that everything they write is the expression of absolute and eternal truth will approve of this theory, which puts the aims of science well above the miserable vanity and paltry *amour propre* of the scientist.

—Ferrero, *Les Lois psychologiques du symbolisme,* p. viii

I

INTRODUCTION

1 Anyone who can read Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams* without being outraged by the novelty and seemingly unjustified boldness of his procedure, and without waxing morally indignant over the stark nakedness of his dream-interpretations, but can let this extraordinary book work upon his imagination calmly and without prejudice, will not fail to be deeply impressed at that point[1] where Freud reminds us that an individual conflict, which he calls the incest fantasy, lies at the root of that monumental drama of the ancient world, the Oedipus legend. The impression made by this simple remark may be likened to the uncanny feeling which would steal over us if, amid the noise and bustle of a modern city street, we were suddenly to come upon an ancient relic—say the Corinthian capital of a long-immured column, or a fragment of an inscription. A moment ago, and we were completely absorbed in the hectic, ephemeral life of the present; then, the next moment, something very remote and strange flashes upon us, which directs our gaze to a different order of things. We turn away from the vast confusion of the present to glimpse the higher continuity of history. Suddenly we remember that on this spot where we now hasten to and fro about our business a similar scene of life and activity prevailed two thousand years ago in slightly different forms; similar passions moved mankind, and people were just as convinced as we are of the uniqueness of their lives. This is the impression that may very easily be left behind by a first acquaintance with the monuments of antiquity, and it seems to me that Freud's reference to the Oedipus legend is in every way comparable. While still struggling with the confusing impressions of the infinite variability of the individual psyche, we suddenly catch a glimpse of the simplicity and grandeur of the

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[1] *The Interpretation of Dreams,* pp. 260–61.

Oedipus tragedy, that perennial highlight of the Greek theatre. This broadening of our vision has about it something of a revelation. For our psychology, the ancient world has long since been sunk in the shadows of the past; in the schoolroom one could scarcely repress a sceptical smile when one indiscreetly calculated the matronly age of Penelope or pictured to oneself the comfortable middle-aged appearance of Jocasta, and comically compared the result with the tragic tempests of eroticism that agitate the legend and drama. We did not know then—and who knows even today?—that a man can have an unconscious, all-consuming passion for his mother which may undermine and tragically complicate his whole life, so that the monstrous fate of Oedipus seems not one whit overdrawn. Rare and pathological cases like that of Ninon de Lenclos and her son [2] are too remote from most of us to convey a living impression. But when we follow the paths traced out by Freud we gain a living knowledge of the existence of these possibilities, which, although too weak to compel actual incest, are yet sufficiently strong to cause very considerable psychic disturbances. We cannot, to begin with, admit such possibilities in ourselves without a feeling of moral revulsion, and without resistances which are only too likely to blind the intellect and render self-knowledge impossible. But if we can succeed in discriminating between objective knowledge and emotional value-judgments, then the gulf that separates our age from antiquity is bridged over, and we realize with astonishment that Oedipus is still alive for us. The importance of this realization should not be underestimated, for it teaches us that there is an identity of fundamental human conflicts which is independent of time and place. What aroused a feeling of horror in the Greeks still remains true, but it is true for us only if we give up the vain illusion that we are *different*, i.e., morally better, than the ancients. We have merely succeeded in forgetting that an indissoluble link binds us to the men of antiquity. This truth opens the way to an understanding of the classical spirit such as has never existed before—the way of inner sympathy on the one hand and of intellectual comprehension on the other. By penetrating into the blocked subterranean passages of our own psyches we grasp the living meaning of classical civilization, and at the same time we establish a firm foothold outside our own culture from which alone it is possible to gain an objective understanding of its foundations. That at least is the hope we draw from the rediscovery of the immortality of the Oedipus problem.

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[2] He is supposed to have killed himself when he heard that his adored Ninon was really his mother.

2 This line of inquiry has already yielded fruitful results: to it we owe a number of successful advances into the territory of the human mind and its history. These are the works of Riklin,[3] Abraham,[4] Rank,[5] Maeder,[6] and Jones,[7] to which there has now been added Silberer's valuable study entitled "Phantasie und Mythos." Another work which cannot be overlooked is Pfister's contribution to Christian religious psychology.[8] The *leitmotiv* of all these works is to find a clue to historical problems through the application of insights derived from the activity of the unconscious psyche in modern man. I must refer the reader to the works specified if he wishes to inform himself of the extent and nature of the insights already achieved. The interpretations are sometimes uncertain in particulars, but that does not materially detract from the total result. It would be significant enough if this merely demonstrated the far-reaching analogy between the psychological structure of the historical products and those of modern individuals. But the analogy applies with particular force to the symbolism, as Riklin, Rank, Maeder, and Abraham have shown, and also to the individual mechanisms governing the unconscious elaboration of motifs.

3 Psychological investigators have hitherto turned their attention mainly to the analysis of individual problems. But, as things are at present, it seems to me imperative that they should broaden the basis of this analysis by a comparative study of the historical material, as Freud has already tried to do in his study of Leonardo da Vinci.[9] For, just as psychological knowledge furthers our understanding of the historical material, so, conversely, the historical material can throw new light on individual psychological problems. These considerations have led me to direct my attention more to the historical side of the picture, in the hope of gaining fresh insight into the foundations of

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[3] *Wishfulfilment and Symbolism in Fairy Tales.*

[4] *Dreams and Myths.*

[5] *The Myth of the Birth of the Hero.*

[6] "Die Symbolik in den Legenden."

[7] *On the Nightmare.*

[8] *Die Frömmigkeit des Grafen Ludwig von Zinzendorf.*

[9] Also Rank, "Ein Traum, der sich selbst deutet."

psychology. In my later writings [10] I have concerned myself chiefly with the question of historical and ethnological parallels, and here the researches of Erich Neumann have made a massive contribution towards solving the countless difficult problems that crop up everywhere in this hitherto little explored territory. I would mention above all his key work, *The Origins and History of Consciousness,*[11] which carries forward the ideas that originally impelled me to write this book, and places them in the broad perspective of the evolution of human consciousness in general.

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[10] [I.e., after 1912, the date of the original publication of the present work.—EDITORS.]

[11] His subsequent publications, *Umkreisung der Mitte* and *The Great Mother,* may also be included in this category. [Three of the essays in the former work were translated in *Art and the Creative Unconscious.*—EDITORS.]

II

TWO KINDS OF THINKING

4 As most people know, one of the basic principles of analytical psychology is that dream-images are to be understood symbolically; that is to say, one must not take them literally, but must surmise a hidden meaning in them. This ancient idea of dream symbolism has aroused not only criticism, but the strongest opposition. That dreams should have a meaning, and should therefore be capable of interpretation, is certainly neither a strange nor an extraordinary idea. It has been known to mankind for thousands of years; indeed it has become something of a truism. One remembers having heard even at school of Egyptian and Chaldaean dream-interpreters. Everyone knows the story of Joseph, who interpreted Pharaoh's dreams, and of Daniel and the dream of King Nebuchadnezzar; and the dream-book of Artemidorus is familiar to many of us. From the written records of all times and peoples we learn of significant and prophetic dreams, of warning dreams and of healing dreams sent by the gods. When an idea is so old and so generally believed, it must be true in some way, by which I mean that it is *psychologically true.*

5 For modern man it is hardly conceivable that a God existing outside ourselves should cause us to dream, or that the dream foretells the future prophetically. But if we translate this into the language of psychology, the ancient idea becomes much more comprehensible. The dream, we would say, originates in an unknown part of the psyche and prepares the dreamer for the events of the following day.

6 According to the old belief, a god or demon spoke to the sleeper in symbolic language, and the dream-interpreter had to solve the riddle. In modern speech we would say that the dream is a series of images which are apparently contradictory and meaningless, but that it contains material which yields a clear meaning when properly translated.

7 Were I to suppose my readers to be entirely ignorant of dream-analysis, I should be obliged to document this statement with numerous examples. Today, however, these things are so well known that one must be sparing in the use of case-histories so as not to bore the public. It is an especial inconvenience that one cannot recount a dream without having to add the history of half a lifetime in order to represent the individual foundations of the dream. Certainly there are typical dreams and dream-motifs whose meaning appears to be simple enough if they are regarded from the point of view of sexual symbolism. One can apply this point of view without jumping to the conclusion that the content so expressed must also be sexual in origin. Common speech, as we know, is full of erotic metaphors which are applied to matters that have nothing to do with sex; and conversely, sexual symbolism by no means implies that the interests making use of it are by nature erotic. Sex, as one of the most important instincts, is the prime cause of numerous affects that exert an abiding influence on our speech. But affects cannot be identified with sexuality inasmuch as they may easily spring from conflict situations—for instance, many emotions spring from the instinct of self-preservation.

8 It is true that many dream-images have a sexual aspect or express erotic conflicts. This is particularly clear in the motif of *assault*. Burglars, thieves, murderers, and sexual maniacs figure prominently in the erotic dreams of women. It is a theme with countless variations. The instrument of murder may be a lance, a sword, a dagger, a revolver, a rifle, a cannon, a fire-hydrant, a watering-can; and the assault may take the form of a burglary, a pursuit, a robbery, or it may be someone hidden in the cupboard or under the bed. Again, the danger may be represented by wild animals, for instance by a horse that throws the dreamer to the ground and kicks her in the stomach with his hind leg; by lions, tigers, elephants with threatening trunks, and finally by snakes in endless variety. Sometimes the snake creeps into the mouth, sometimes it bites the breast like Cleopatra's legendary asp, sometimes it appears in the role of the paradisal serpent, or in one of the variations of Franz Stuck, whose snake-pictures bear significant titles like "Vice," "Sin," or "Lust" (cf. pl. x). The mixture of anxiety and lust is perfectly

expressed in the sultry atmosphere of these pictures, and far more crudely than in Mörike's piquant little poem:

Girl's First Love Song

What's in the net? I feel
Frightened and shaken.
Is it a sweet-slipping eel
Or a snake that I've taken?

Love's a blind fisherman,
Love cannot see;
Whisper the child, then,
What would love of me?

It leaps in my hands! This is
Anguish unguessed;
With cunning and kisses
It creeps to my breast.

It bites me, O wonder!
Worms under my skin—
My heart bursts asunder,
I tremble within.

Where go and where hide me?
The shuddersome thing
Rages inside me,
Then sinks to a ring.

What poison can this be?
O that spasm again!
It burrows in ecstasy
Till I am slain![1]

9 All these things seem simple and need no explanation to be intelligible. Somewhat more complicated is the following dream of a young woman. She dreamt that she saw *the triumphal Arch of Constantine. Before it stood a cannon, to the right a bird, to the left a man. A cannon-ball shot out of the muzzle and hit her; it went into her pocket, into her purse. There it remained, and she held the purse as if there were something very precious inside it. Then the picture faded, and all she could see was the*

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[1] Mörike, Werke, I, p. 33.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] and of other things outside itself) [illegible] things."

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] France when he says

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] longer go on living in it.[8]

14 [illegible] When I say [illegible]

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[8] *Le Jardin d'Épicure*, p. 80.

[9] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] as Wundt [illegible]:

A further important consequence of the interplay of sound and meaning is that many words come to lose their original concrete meaning altogether, and turn into signs for general ideas [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of relating and comparing, and their products. In this way abstract thought develops, which, because it would not be possible without the underlying changes of meaning, is itself the product of those psychic and psychophysical interchanges in which the development of language consists.[9]

15 Jodl rejects the identity of language and thought on the ground that the same psychic fact can be expressed in different ways in different languages. [illegible] [illegible] the existence of a [illegible] type of thinking. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. My views coincide with those of Baldwin, who says:

The transition from pre-judgmental to judgmental meaning is just that from knowledge which has social confirmation to that which gets along without it. The meanings utilized for judgment are those already developed in their presuppositions and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of the meaning rendered. . . .

Now the development of thought, as we are to see in more detail, is by a method [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] knowledge, his grounded [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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[9] Grundriss der Psychologie, pp. 363-64.

[10] Lehrbuch der Psychologie, [illegible]

[illegible] tional usage.

[illegible]

[illegible] social. . . .

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] secured [illegible] hoc . . . *the function of speech.*

[illegible] and [illegible] ing held as [illegible]

15 Baldwin [illegible] limitations imposed on [illegible] which are of the greatest

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[12] Baldwin, *Thought and Things* [illegible]

[13] In this connection [illegible]

[illegible] scholasticity and [illegible], just being [illegible] so great [illegible] we [illegible] Mauthner,[13] [illegible] speech [illegible] primacy of speech.

Directed thinking or, as we might also call it, *thinking in words*, is manifestly an instrument of culture, and we shall not be wrong in saying that the tremendous work of education which past centuries have devoted to directed thinking, thereby forcing it to develop from the subjective, individual sphere to the objective, social sphere, has produced a readjustment of the human mind to which we owe our modern empiricism and technics.[14] These are absolutely new developments in the history of the world and were unknown to earlier ages. Inquiring minds have often wrestled with the question of why the first-rate knowledge which the ancients undoubtedly had of mathematics, mechanics, and physics, coupled with their matchless craftsmanship, was never applied to developing the rudimentary techniques already known to them (e.g., the principles of simple machines) into a real technology in the modern sense of the word, and why they never got beyond the stage of inventing amusing curiosities. There is only one answer to this: the ancients, with a few illustrious exceptions, entirely lacked the capacity to concentrate their interest on the transformations of inanimate matter and to reproduce the natural process artificially, by which means alone they could have gained control of the forces of nature. What they lacked was training in directed thinking.[15] The secret of cultural development is the *mobility and disposability of psychic energy*. Directed thinking, as we know it today, is a more or less modern acquisition which earlier ages lacked.

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[13] [illegible] the antiques [illegible] considerations.

[14] See n. 5, above.

[15] There was as a matter of fact no external necessity which would have made technical thinking necessary. The labour question was solved by an endless supply of slaves, so that efforts to save labour were superfluous. We must also remember that the interest of the man of antiquity was turned in quite another direction: he reverenced the divine cosmos, a quality which is entirely lacking in our technological age.

18 This brings us to a further question: What happens when we do not think directedly? Well, our thinking then lacks all leading ideas and the sense of direction emanating from them.[16] We no longer compel our thoughts along a definite track, but let them float, sink or rise according to their specific gravity. In Kuelpe's view,[17] thinking is a sort of "inner act of the will," and its absence necessarily leads to an "automatic play of ideas." William James regards non-directed thinking, or "merely associative" thinking, as the ordinary kind. He expresses himself as follows:

> Much of our thinking consists of trains of images suggested one by another, of a sort of spontaneous revery of which it seems likely enough that the higher brutes should be capable. This sort of thinking leads nevertheless to rational conclusions both practical and theoretical.
>
> As a rule, in this sort of irresponsible thinking the terms which come to be coupled together are empirical concretes, not abstractions.[18]

19 We can supplement James's definitions by saying that this sort of thinking does not tire us, that it leads away from reality into fantasies of the past or future. At this point thinking in verbal form ceases, image piles on image, feeling on feeling,[19]

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[16] So at least it appears to the conscious mind. Freud (*The Interpretation of Dreams*, II, p. [illegible]) says in this connection: "For it is demonstrably untrue that we are being carried along a purposeless stream of ideas when, in the process of interpreting a dream, we abandon reflection and allow involuntary ideas to emerge. It can be shown that we can never get rid of purposive ideas that are known to us; as soon as we have done this, unknown—or, as we inaccurately say, unconscious—purposive ideas take charge and thereafter determine the course of the involuntary ideas. No influence that we can bring to bear upon our mental processes can ever enable us to think without purposive ideas; nor am I aware of any states of psychical confusion which can do so."

[17] *Outlines*, p. 448. [18] *Principles*, II, p. 325.

[19] This statement is based primarily on experiences derived from the field of normal psychology. Indefinite thinking is very far removed from "reflection," particularly where readiness of speech is concerned. In psychological experiments I have frequently found that subjects—I am speaking only of cultivated and intelligent people—whom I allowed to daydream, as though unintentionally and without previous instruction, exhibited affects which could be registered experimentally, but that with the best will in the world they could express the underlying thought only very imperfectly or not at all. More instructive are experiences

ing, and there is an ever-increasing tendency to shuffle things about and arrange them not as they are in reality but as one would like them to be. Naturally enough, the stuff of this thinking, which shies away from reality, can only be the past with its thousand memory-images. Common speech calls this kind of thinking "dreaming."

20 As anyone can verify for himself at any time, the formulations of common speech are very much to the point, for almost every day we can see for ourselves, when falling asleep, how our fantasies get woven into our dreams, so that between day-dreaming and night-dreaming there is not much difference. We have, therefore, two kinds of thinking: directed thinking, and dreaming or fantasy-thinking. The former operates with speech elements for the purpose of communication, and is difficult and exhausting; the latter is effortless, working as it were spontaneously, with the contents ready to hand, and guided by unconscious motives. The one produces innovations and adaptation, copies reality, and tries to act upon it; the other turns away from reality, sets free subjective tendencies, and, as regards adaptation, is unproductive.[20]

[illegible] right words for it."

[20] [illegible] James, *Principles*, II, p. 325 [illegible]

As I have [illegible] shows that directed thinking was not always as developed as it is today. The clearest expression of modern directed thinking is science and the techniques fostered by it. Both owe their existence simply and solely to energetic training in directed thinking. Yet at the time when the forerunners of our present-day culture, such as the poet Petrarch, were just beginning to approach nature in a spirit of understanding,[21] an equivalent of our science already existed in scholasticism.[22] This took its subjects from fantasies of the past, but it gave the mind a dialectical training in directed thinking. The one goal of success that shone before the thinker was rhetorical victory in disputation, and not the visible transformation of reality. The subjects he thought about were often unbelievably fantastic; for instance, it was debated how many angels could stand on the point of a needle, whether Christ could have done his work of redemption had he come into the world in the shape of a pea, etc., etc. The fact that these problems could be posed at all—and the stock metaphysical problem of how to know the unknowable comes into this category—proves how peculiar the medieval mind must have been, that it could contrive questions which for us are the height of

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[21] Cf. the impressive description of Petrarch's ascent of Mont Ventoux, in Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, pp. [illegible]: "A description of the view from the summit would be looked for in vain, not because the poet was insensible to it, but, on the contrary, because the impression was too overwhelming. His whole past life, with all its follies, rose before his mind; he remembered that ten years ago that day he had quitted Bologna a young man, and turned a longing gaze towards his native country; he opened a book which was then his constant companion, the *Confessions* of St. Augustine, and his eye fell on the passage in the tenth chapter: 'and men go forth, and admire lofty mountains and broad seas, and roaring torrents, and the ocean, and the course of the stars, and turn away from themselves while doing so.' His brother, to whom he read these words, could not understand why he closed the book and said no more."

[22] Wundt gives a short account of the scholastic method in his *Philosophische Studien* (XIII, p. 345). The method consists "firstly, in regarding as the chief aim of scientific investigation the discovery of a firmly established conceptual scheme capable of being applied in a uniform manner to the most varied problems; secondly, in laying an inordinate value upon certain general concepts, and consequently upon the verbal symbols designating these concepts, as a result of which an analysis of the meanings of words comes, in extreme cases, to be a vapid intellectual subtlety and splitting of hairs instead of an investigation of the real facts from which the concepts are abstracted."

[illegible] day. No [illegible] work of the [illegible] form [illegible] words, [illegible]

[illegible] of the [illegible] of St. Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, Abelard, William of Ockham, and [illegible] worked is the mother of our modern scientific method, and future generations will see [illegible] with dialectical [illegible] the symbol of the word [illegible] to it a mystical value. The great achievement of scholasticism was that it laid the foundations of a solidly built intellectual function, the sine qua non of modern science and technology.

23 If we go still further back into history, we find what we call science dissolving in an indistinct mist. The culture-creating mind is ceaselessly employed in stripping experience of everything subjective, and in devising formulas to harness the forces of nature and express them in the best way possible. It would be a ridiculous and unwarranted presumption on our part if we imagined that we were more energetic or more intelligent than the men of the past—our material knowledge has increased, but not our intelligence. This means that we are just as bigoted in regard to new ideas, and just as impervious to them, as people were in the darkest days of antiquity. We have become rich in knowledge, but poor in wisdom. The centre of gravity of our interest has switched over to the materialistic side, whereas the ancients preferred a mode of thought nearer to the fantastic type. To the classical mind everything was still saturated with mythology, even though classical philosophy and the beginnings of natural science undeniably prepared the way for the work of "enlightenment."

24 Unfortunately, we get at school only a very feeble idea of the richness and tremendous vitality of Greek mythology. All the creative power that modern man pours into science and technology the man of antiquity devoted to his myths. This creative urge explains the bewildering confusion, the kaleidoscopic changes and syncretistic regroupings, the continual rejuvenation, of

[illegible]

25 [illegible]

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[23] *The Interpretation of Dreams,* II, p. 545

and which he thought might equally well be called regression to the original perception, it nevertheless deserves special mention because it has an importance of its own. It might even be considered as an "historical" regression. In this sense the dream can, with Freud, be described as a modified memory—modified through being projected into the present. The original scene of the memory is unable to effect its own revival, so has to be content with returning as a dream.[24] In Freud's view it is an essential characteristic of dreams to "elaborate" memories that mostly go back to early childhood, that is to say, to bring them nearer to the present and recast them in its language. But, in so far as infantile psychic life cannot deny its archaic character, the latter quality is the especial peculiarity of dreams. Freud expressly draws attention to this:

Dreams, which fulfil their wishes along the short path of regression, have merely preserved for us in that respect a sample of the psychical apparatus's primary method of working, a method which was abandoned as being inefficient. What once dominated waking life, when the mind was still young and incompetent, seems now to have been banished into the night—just as the primitive weapons, the bows and arrows, that have been abandoned by adult men turn up once more in the nursery.[25]

26 These considerations[26] tempt us to draw a parallel between the mythological thinking of ancient man and the similar think-

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[24] Ibid., p. 546. [25] Ibid., p. 567.

[26] The passage in *The Interpretation of Dreams* that follows immediately afterwards has since been confirmed through investigations of the psychoses: "These methods of working on the part of the psychical apparatus, which are normally suppressed in waking hours, become current once more in psychosis and then reveal their incapacity for satisfying our needs in relation to the external world" (p. 567). The importance of this sentence is borne out by the views of Pierre Janet, which were developed independently of Freud and deserve consideration here because they confirm it from an entirely different angle, namely the biological. Janet distinguishes in the function a firmly organized lower part and an upper part that is in a state of continuous transformation: "It is precisely on this 'superior' part of the functions, on their adaptation to existing circumstances, that the neuroses depend. . . . Neuroses are disturbances or checks in the evolution of the functions. . . . Neuroses are maladies dependent on the various functions of the organism which are characterized by an alteration in the superior parts of these functions, which are checked in their evolution, in their adaptation to the present moment and the existing state of the external world and

ing from them in the form[27] of primitives and of dreams. This idea is not at all strange; we know it quite well from comparative anatomy and from evolution, which show that the structure and function of the human body are the result of a series of embryonic mutations corresponding to similar mutations in our racial history. The supposition that there may be in psychology a correspondence between ontogenesis and phylogenesis therefore seems justified. If this is so, it would mean that infantile thinking[28] and dream-thinking are simply a recapitulation of earlier evolutionary stages.

27 In this regard, Nietzsche takes up an attitude well worth noting:

> In sleep and in dreams we pass through the whole thought of earlier humanity. . . . What I mean is this: as man now reasons in dreams, so humanity also reasoned for many thousands of years when awake; the first cause which occurred to the mind as an explanation of anything that required explanation was sufficient and passed for truth. . . . This atavistic element in man's nature still manifests itself in our dreams, for it is the foundation upon which the higher reason has developed and still develops in every individual. Dreams carry us back to remote conditions of human culture and give us a ready means of understanding them better. Dream thinking comes so easily to us now because this form of fantastic and facile explanation in terms of the first random idea has been drilled

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of the individual, while there is no direct relation to the other parts of these same functions. In place of these superior operations some degree of [illegible] physical and mental [illegible] develops, above all emotionally. This is nothing but the tendency to replace the superior operations by an exaggerated [illegible] [illegible] parts of the [illegible] [illegible] Ferenczi [illegible] [illegible] the other parts are the same as the [illegible] parts of the functions and they replace the [illegible] adaptation in [illegible] views [illegible] the nature of [illegible] is expressed [illegible] the [illegible] hereditary mechanism as a tendency to regression [illegible] of a [illegible] repetition. I am indebted to Dr. [illegible] for the following story: A small girl [illegible] and who had been [illegible] which [illegible] she said to her mother: "You are the [illegible] Mama. You are my Mama and [illegible] Mama." She had been [illegible] characteristic of the archaic thinking [illegible] Mama [illegible] the original [illegible] Enercos]. *Mamma* is Latin for 'breast.'

[28] Cf. particularly Freud's "Analysis of a Phobia in a Five-year-old Boy" and my "Psychic Conflicts in a Child."

[illegible] for the cause [illegible]. To that extent, dreaming is a re-creation for the brain, which by day has to satisfy the stern demands of thought imposed by a higher culture.... From this we can see how lately the more acute logical thinking, the strict discrimination of cause and effect, has been developed, since our rational and intellectual faculties still involuntarily hark back to these primitive forms of reasoning, and we pass about half our lives in this condition.[29]

28 Freud, as we have seen, reached similar conclusions regarding the archaic nature of dream-thinking on the basis of dream-analysis. It is therefore not such a great step to the view that myths are dreamlike structures. Freud himself puts it as follows: "The study of constructions of folk-psychology such as these is by no means complete, but it seems extremely probable that myths, for instance, are distorted vestiges of the wish-phantasies of whole nations, the secular dreams of youthful humanity."[30] In the same way Rank regards myth as the collective dream of a whole people.[31]

29 Riklin has pointed out the dream mechanism in fairytales,[32] and Abraham has done the same for myths. He says: "The myth is a fragment of the superseded infantile psychic life of the race," and again: "The myth is therefore a fragment preserved from the infantile psychic life of the race, and dreams are the myths of the individual."[33] The conclusion that the myth-makers thought in much the same way as we still think in dreams is almost self-evident. The first attempts at myth-making can, of course, be observed in children, whose games of make-believe often contain historical echoes. But one must certainly put a large question-mark after the assertion that myths spring from the "infantile" psychic life of the race. They are on the contrary the most mature product of that young humanity. Just as those first fishy ancestors of man, with their gill-slits, were not embryos, but fully developed creatures, so the myth-making and myth-inhabiting man was a grown reality and not a four-year-old child. Myth is certainly not an infantile [illegible]

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[29] [illegible]

[30] [illegible]

[31] Cf. also Rank, *The Birth of the Hero.*

[32] *Wishfulfilment and Symbolism in Fairy Tales.*

[33] [illegible] modified.

[illegible] ate

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] upper hand.

[illegible]

orator, which actually came true in the case of Demosthenes, thanks to his enormous energy; the poor man fancies himself a millionaire, the child a grown-up. The oppressed wage victorious wars on the oppressor, the failure torments himself with ambitious schemes. All seek compensation through fantasy.

34 But just where do the fantasies get their material? Let us take as an example a typical adolescent fantasy. Faced by the vast uncertainty of the future, the adolescent puts the blame for it on the past, saying to himself: "If only I were not the child of my very ordinary parents, but the child of a rich and elegant count and had merely been brought up by foster parents! Then one day a golden coach would come and the count would take his long-lost child back with him to his wonderful castle," and so on, just as in a Grimm's fairy story which a mother tells to her children. With a normal child the fantasy stops short at the fleeting idea, which is soon over and forgotten. There was a time, however, in the ancient world, when the fantasy was a legitimate truth that enjoyed universal recognition. The heroes—Romulus and Remus, [illegible] Moses, Semiramis, and many others—were foundlings whose real parents had lost them.[39] Others were directly descended from the gods, and the noble families traced their descent from the heroes and gods of old. Hence the fantasy of our adolescent is simply a re-echo of an ancient folk-belief which was once very widespread. The fantasy of ambition therefore chooses, among other things, a classical form which at one time had real validity. The same is true of certain erotic fantasies. Earlier on we mentioned the dream of sexual assault: the robber who breaks in and does something dangerous. That too is a mythological theme, and in the dim past was undoubtedly a reality.[40] Quite apart from the fact that rape was a common occurrence in prehistoric times, it was also a favourite theme of mythology in more civilized epochs. One has only to think of the rape of Persephone, of Deianira, Europa, and of the Sabine women. Nor should we forget that in many parts of the earth there are

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[39] Rank, *The Myth of the Birth of the Hero*; and Kerényi, "The Primordial Child," in Jung and Kerényi, [illegible]

[40] [illegible] the mythological rape of the [illegible] Kore (pp. [illegible] ff.).

marriage customs existing today which reveal the ancient marriage by capture.

35 One could give countless examples of this kind. They would all prove the same thing, namely that what, with us, is a subterranean fantasy was once open to the light of day. What, with us, crops up only in dreams and fantasies was once either a conscious custom or a general belief. But what was once strong enough to mould the spiritual life of a highly developed people will not have vanished without trace from the human soul in the course of a few generations. We must remember that a mere eighty generations separate us from the Golden Age of Greek culture. And what are eighty generations? They shrink to an almost imperceptible span when compared with the enormous stretch of time that separates us from Neanderthal or Heidelberg man. I would like in this connection to call attention to the pointed remarks of the great historian Ferrero:

> It is a very common belief that the further man is separated from the present in time, the more he differs from us in his thoughts and feelings; that the psychology of humanity changes from century to century, like fashions or literature. Therefore, no sooner do we find in past history an institution, a custom, a law or a belief a little different from those we know, than we immediately search for all manner of complicated explanations, which more often than not resolve themselves into phrases of no very precise significance. And indeed, man does not change so quickly; his psychology at bottom remains the same, and even if his culture varies much from one epoch to another, it does not change the functioning of his mind. The fundamental laws of the mind remain the same, at least during the short historical periods of which we have knowledge; and nearly all the phenomena of even the most strange mentality must be capable of explanation by those common laws of the mind which we can recognize in ourselves.[47]

36 The psychologist should accept this view without qualification. The Dionysian phallagogies, the chthonic mysteries of classical Athens have vanished from our civilization, and the theriomorphic representations of the gods have dwindled to mere vestiges, like the Dove, the Lamb, and the Cock adorning our church towers. Yet all this does not alter the fact that in childhood we go through a phase when archaic thinking and

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[47] Ferrero, *Les Lois psychologiques*, p. vii.

[illegible]

[illegible] archaic nature.

[illegible]

to cure [illegible]

which naturally emerge more clearly in [illegible] than they do later, [illegible] they are not [illegible] in a less pathological form. To characterize them we [illegible] better than to use expressions borrowed from pathology. So also [illegible] which is likewise based on unconscious archaic processes, is in meaning, substance and form far from being infantile or the expression of an autoerotic [illegible] even though it produces a world [illegible] which is [illegible] consistent with the rational and objective view of things. The instinctive archaic basis of the mind is a matter of plain objective fact and is no more dependent upon individual experience or personal choice than is the inherited structure and functioning of the brain or any other organ. Just as the body has its evolutionary history and shows clear traces of the various evolutionary stages, so does the psyche.[38]

39 Whereas directed thinking is an altogether conscious phenomenon,[39] the same cannot be said of fantasy-thinking. Much of it belongs to the conscious sphere, but at least as much goes on in the half-shadow, or entirely in the unconscious, and can therefore be inferred only indirectly.[40] Through fantasy-thinking, directed thinking is brought into contact with the oldest layers of the human mind, long buried beneath the threshold of consciousness. The fantasy-products directly engaging the conscious mind are, first of all, waking dreams or daydreams, to which Freud, Flournoy, Pick, and others have devoted special attention; then come ordinary dreams, which present to the conscious mind a baffling exterior [illegible] indirectly inferred [illegible] completely unconscious [illegible] have a marked tendency to constitute themselves as separate personalities.[41]

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[38] See my paper "On the Nature of the Psyche," [illegible]
[39] Except for the fact that the contents entering consciousness are already in a high state of complexity, as Wundt has pointed out.
[40] Schelling [illegible] der M[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[41] [illegible] the Psychology and Pathology of So-called Occult Phenomena [illegible] A Review of the Complex Theory [illegible] be found in [illegible]

40 All this shows how much the products of the unconscious have in common with mythology. We should therefore have to conclude that any introversion occurring in later life regresses back to infantile reminiscences which, though derived from the individual's past, generally have a slight archaic tinge. With stronger introversion and regression the archaic features become more pronounced.

41 This problem merits further discussion. Let us take as a concrete example Anatole France's story of the pious Abbé Oegger.[43] This priest was something of a dreamer, and was much given to speculative musings, particularly in regard to the fate of Judas: whether he was really condemned to everlasting punishment, as the teaching of the Church declares, or whether God pardoned him after all. Oegger took up the very understandable attitude that God, in his supreme wisdom, had chosen Judas as an instrument for the completion of Christ's work of redemption.[44] This necessary instrument, without whose help humanity would never have had a share in salvation, could not possibly be damned by the all-good God. In order to put an end to his doubts, Oegger betook himself one night to the church and implored God to give him a sign that Judas was saved. Thereupon he felt a heavenly touch on his shoulder. The next day he went to the archbishop and told him that he was resolved to go out into the world to preach the gospel of God's unending mercy.

42 Here we have a well-developed fantasy-system. It is concerned with the subtle and eternally undecided question of whether the legendary figure of Judas was damned or not. The Judas legend is itself a typical motif, namely that of the malicious betrayal of the hero. One is reminded of Siegfried and Hagen, Balder and Loki: Siegfried and Balder were both murdered by a perfidious traitor from among their closest associates. This myth is moving and tragic, because the noble hero is not felled in fair fight, but through treachery. At the same time it is an event that was repeated many times in history, for instance in the case of Caesar and Brutus. Though the myth is extremely old it is still

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[43] *Le Jardin d'Épicure.*

[44] [illegible] See Part II.

[illegible] tirely disappear.[44]

43 But [illegible]

44 [illegible]

45 Conscious fantasies therefore [illegible]

[illegible]

Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus.*

[illegible] perpetually [illegible] It was [illegible] contain [illegible] with our conscious character. Hence [illegible] with the [illegible] tendencies. What would Oegger have said had one [illegible] itself for the [illegible] causal sequence [illegible] hand with [illegible] because he wanted to be [illegible] Judas he first made sure of God's goodness. For him Judas was the symbol of his own unconscious tendency, and he made use of this symbol in order to reflect on his own situation [illegible] would have been too painful for him. There must, then, be typical cases which would serve to work out [illegible] complexes. [illegible] every Greek [illegible] of the past and every [illegible] Faust.[41]

[illegible] we [illegible] meet [illegible] again when we examine another set of fantasies which owe their existence [illegible] the exclusive activity of the unconscious. We are indebted to a [illegible] American woman, known to us by the pseudonym of Miss Frank Miller, for a series of fantasies, partly poetical in form, which

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[41] Burckhardt, in a letter [illegible] to his student Albert Brenner [illegible] I have no [illegible] Faust [illegible] prepared and [illegible] Faust is a genuine myth, [illegible] The same is true of Faust and the German nation."

Théodore Flournoy made available to the public in 1906, in the *Archives de psychologie* (Geneva), under the title "Quelques faits d'imagination créatrice subconsciente."[40]

[40] [See the Appendix for the full Miller account translated into English.—EDITORS.]

III

THE MILLER FANTASIES: ANAMNESIS

45 Experience has taught us that whenever anyone tells us his fantasies or his dreams, [illegible] an urgent [illegible] that was the one that was most painful for him at [illegible]. Since in the case of Miss Miller we have [illegible] we shall have to give attention [illegible] to Miss Miller [illegible] first section [illegible] Phenomena [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] which she [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] she [illegible] herself to such

There is an example of [illegible] A. Bernoulli: Franz Overbeck und Friedrich Nietzsche [illegible] Basel [illegible] [illegible] born of some secret, tormenting disgust."

[illegible] the premature [illegible] that he had to [illegible] his young [illegible] and her tongue was [illegible] out of use a degree with the wounded Christian de Neuvillette in *Cyrano de Bergerac* that she feels a piercing pain in her own breast at the very place where the hero receives his death-wound.

48 One might describe the theatre, somewhat unaesthetically, as an institution for working out private complexes in public. The enjoyment of comedy, or of the blissful dénouement of the plot, is the direct result of identifying one's own complexes with those personified by the actors, while the enjoyment of tragedy lies in the thrilling yet satisfying feeling that what is happening to somebody else may very well happen to you. The palpitations of our author at the death of Christian mean that there is a complex in her awaiting a similar solution, which whispers a soft "today to you, tomorrow to me," and lest there should be any doubt as to the critical moment, Miss Miller adds that she felt the pain in her breast when Sarah Bernhardt throws herself upon him to staunch the bleeding of his wound. The critical moment, therefore, is when the love between Christian and Roxane comes to a sudden end. If we examine Rostand's play as a whole, we shall find certain passages whose effect it is not so easy to escape, and which we must emphasize here because they are of importance for everything that follows. Cyrano de Bergerac, he of the long ugly nose on account of which he undertakes innumerable duels, loves Roxane, who is in love with Christian because she thinks he is the author of the beautiful verses which really come from Cyrano's pen. Cyrano is the misunderstood one whose passionate love and noble soul no one suspects, the hero who sacrifices himself for others and, in the evening of life, with his dying breath, reads her once more Christian's last letter, the verses of which he has composed himself:

Roxane, adieu! I soon must die!
This very night, beloved, and I
Feel my soul heavy with a love untold.
I die! No more, as in the days of old,
My loving, longing eyes will feast
On your least gesture—ay, the least!
I mind me of the way you touch your cheek
So softly with your finger as you speak.
Ah me, I know that gesture well!
My heart cries out—I cry "Farewell!"

My life, my love, my jewel, my sweet,
My heart was yours in every beat.'[2]

49 Whereupon Roxane recognizes him as the true beloved. But it is already too late; death comes, and in an agonized delirium Cyrano rouses himself, draws his sword:

Why, I do believe
He dares to mock my nose? Ho! insolent!
(He raises his sword)
What say you? It is useless? Ay, I know
But who fights ever hoping for success?
I fought for lost cause, and for fruitless quest!
You there, who are you? You are thousands! Ah!
I know you now, old enemies of mine!
Falsehood!
(He strikes the air with his sword)
Have at you! Ha! and Compromise!
Prejudice! Treachery! . . .
(He strikes)
Surrender, I?
Parley? No, never! You too, Folly, you?
I know that you will lay me low at last;
Let be! Yet I fall fighting, fighting still!
You strip from me the laurel and the rose!
Take all! Despite you there is yet one thing
I hold against you all, and when, tonight,
I enter Christ's fair courts, and, lowly bowed,
Sweep with doffed casque the heavens' threshold blue,
One thing is left that, void of stain or smutch,
I bear away despite you, my *panache*.'[3]

50 Cyrano, who beneath his hideous exterior hides a soul so much more beautiful, is full of misunderstood yearnings and his final triumph consists in his departing with a clean shield ("void of stain or smutch"). The author's identification with the dying Cyrano, who in himself is not a very inspiring figure, reveals that a similar end is destined for her love, just as for Christian's. But, as we have seen, the tragic intermezzo with Christian is played against a background of far wider significance, namely

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[2] Rostand, *Cyrano de Bergerac*, trans. by Thomas and Guillemard, p. 281.
[3] Ibid., p. 283.

Cyrano's unrequited love for Roxane. The identification with Christian is probably only a cover. That this is so will become clear in the course of our analysis.

51 The identification with Christian is followed by an extraordinarily plastic memory of the sea, evoked by a photograph of a steamer plunging through the waves. "I felt the throb of the engines, the heave of the waves, the roll of the ship." We may here hazard the conjecture that the sea voyages of our author were associated with particularly impressive memories which bit deep into her soul and, through unconscious sympathy, threw the screen memory into particularly vivid relief. We shall see later how far these conjectured memories hang together with the problem touched on above.

52 The example that now follows is remarkable. Once while she was having a bath, Miss Miller wound a towel round her hair to prevent it from getting wet. At that moment she had the following vivid impression: "It seemed to me, for one moment and with an almost breath-taking clarity, that I was on a pedestal, a veritable Egyptian statue with all its details: stiff limbs, one foot forward, holding insignia in my hand, etc." So Miss Miller is now identifying herself with an Egyptian statue, obviously on the basis of a stereotyped similarity. What she means is: I am like an Egyptian statue, just as stiff, wooden, sublime, and impassive, qualities for which the Egyptian statue is proverbial.

53 The next example lays stress on the personal influence she wields over a certain artist:

> However, I succeeded in making him draw landscapes, such as those of Lake Geneva, where he had never been, and he used to pretend that I could make him depict things that he had never seen and gave him the sense of a surrounding atmosphere that he had never felt; in short, that I was using him as he himself used his pencil, that is, simply as an instrument.

54 This remark stands in abrupt contrast to the fantasy of the Egyptian statue. Miss Miller evidently has an unspoken need to emphasize her almost magical influence over another person. This, too, could not have happened without an inner compulsion such as is particularly noticeable in one who often does *not* succeed in establishing a real emotional relationship. She

will then solace herself with the idea of her almost magical powers of suggestion.

With that, we come to the end of the examples illustrating the autosuggestibility and suggestive influence of our author. The examples are neither particularly striking nor particularly interesting in this respect, but are all the more valuable from the psychological point of view because they allow us to glimpse some of her personal problems. Most of the examples show how liable Miss Miller was to succumb to the powers of suggestion, and how the libido gained control of certain impressions and intensified them, which would naturally not have been possible but for the free-floating energy placed at her disposal by her lack of relation to reality.

IV

THE HYMN OF CREATION

56 The second document in Miss Miller's material is the poem "Glory to God". A Dream Poem.

57 In 1898, as a girl of twenty, Miss Miller went on a long journey through Europe. We leave the description to her:

After the long and rough voyage from New York to Stockholm, and from there to St. Petersburg and Odessa, it was a real pleasure for me to leave the world of cities, of the roaring streets, of business—in short, of the earth—and enter the world of waves, sky, and silence. I spent hours on end on the deck of the ship, dreaming, stretched out on a deckchair. All the histories, legends, and myths of the different countries I saw in the distance came back to me confusedly, dissolved in a kind of luminous mist in which real things seemed to lose their being, while dreams and ideas took on the aspect of the only true reality. At first I even avoided all company and kept to myself, lost in my reveries, where everything I had ever known that was truly great, beautiful, and good came back to me with renewed life and vigour. I also spent a good part of my days writing to absent friends, reading, or scribbling little bits of poetry in remembrance of the various places we visited. Some of these poems were of a rather serious character.

58 It may perhaps seem superfluous to go into all these details more closely. But if we remember what we said above, that when people let their unconscious speak it always tells us the most intimate things, then even the smallest detail may have a meaning. Miss Miller is here describing a state of "introversion". After the life of the cities with their many impressions had absorbed her interest with that suggestive power which

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[The change in wording [illegible] always [illegible] measure, however, [illegible] in which Miss Miller [illegible] long [illegible] and which [illegible] the phrase being remarked on here.—EDITORS.]

we have seen [illegible] she breathed freely again when the sea and [illegible] engulfed in her inner world, deliberately cutting herself off from the environment [illegible] lost their reality and dreams became more [illegible]. We know from psychopathology that there is a certain mental disturbance[2] which is initiated by the patient's shutting out reality more and more and sinking into his fantasies, with the result that as reality loses its hold, the determining power of the inner world increases. This process leads up to a climax when the patient suddenly becomes more or less conscious of his [illegible] from reality. In a sort of panic he begins making [illegible] efforts to get back to his environment. These attempts [illegible] the compensating [illegible] for reassociation [illegible] valid [illegible] the pathological as well as [illegible] for normal psychology.

One might therefore expect that after this [illegible] would then regained her sense of reality for a time. Miss Miller would submit to a new impression of the external world and one whose suggestive influence would be at least as great as that of her fantasies. Let us proceed with her narrative:

> But as the voyage drew near its end, the ship's officers [illegible] and I passed many an hour [illegible] teaching them English.
>
> [illegible] in the harbour of [illegible] I wrote a sea-chanty which [illegible] was [illegible] an adaptation of a well-known song [illegible] the sea, wine and love. [illegible] The Italians are all good singers, and [illegible] one of the officers,

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[2] This illness had until recently the not altogether suitable name given it by [illegible]

[illegible] and [illegible] wood [illegible] deck [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] words [illegible] of a melody.

Next [illegible] words [illegible] what the [illegible] says. "See Naples and die" [illegible] the point. Naples [illegible] being very [illegible] The streets [illegible] go about and [illegible] the city in [illegible] [illegible] as we were [illegible] to visit [illegible] the rest was [illegible] good looks [illegible] and the ugliness of Italian beggars.

6 [illegible] expected [illegible] Nevertheless, one of the [illegible] made a considerable impression on me. The [illegible] without [illegible] anything more [illegible] it is true [illegible] the assumption that this impression [illegible] the fact [illegible] make [illegible] what experience [illegible] everything [illegible] I am inclined to pay rather more [illegible] because experience has shown that an impression [illegible] after [illegible] has a profound effect and may possibly never have been [illegible] by Miss Miller [illegible] of sickness [illegible] possible [illegible] only be [illegible] as arising [illegible] this reaches [illegible] very [illegible]

From Naples to Leghorn [illegible] night. [illegible] moderate [illegible] seemed [illegible] which [illegible] before waking.

[illegible] I was vaguely conscious of the words [illegible] when the morning stars sang together [illegible] which served as the prelude [illegible] through the universe. But with the [illegible] and strange [illegible] tion characteristic of dreams, all this was mixed up with choruses from oratorios given by one of the leading musical societies of New York, and with indistinct memories of Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Then, slowly, out of this medley, words appeared, and a little later they arranged themselves in three stanzas in my handwriting on a sheet of ordinary blue-lined writing paper, in a page of my old poetry album that I always carry about with me; in short, they appeared to me exactly as they did in reality, a few minutes later, in my book.

61 Miss Miller then wrote down the following poem, which she rearranged slightly a few months later, in order to make it more nearly, in her opinion, like the dream original:

First Version	*Second Version (more exact)*
When God had first made Sound, A myriad ears sprang into being And throughout all the Universe Rolled a mighty echo: "Glory to the God of Sound!"	When the Eternal first made Sound A myriad ears sprang out to hear, And throughout all the Universe There rolled an echo deep and clear: "All glory to the God of Sound!"
When beauty (light) first was given by God, A myriad eyes sprang out to see And hearing ears and seeing eyes Again gave forth that mighty song: "Glory to the God of Beauty (Light)!"	When the Eternal first made Light, A myriad eyes sprang out to look, And hearing ears and seeing eyes, Once more a mighty choral took: "All glory to the God of Light!"
When God has first given Love, A myriad hearts leapt up; And ears full of music, eyes all full of Beauty, Hearts all full of love sang: "Glory to the God of Love!"	When the Eternal first gave Love, A myriad hearts sprang into life; Ears filled with music, eyes with light, Pealed forth with hearts with love all rife: "All glory to the God of Love!"

62 Before we examine her attempts to get at the roots of this subliminal creation through her own associations, let us take a quick look at the material already in hand. The impression of the ship has already received due emphasis, so it ought not to

[illegible]

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* [illegible] War. Much has changed since then.

[illegible] tivation of the father-imago.[4]

63 [illegible]

64 [illegible]

65 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] comparisons in the creative work [illegible] Simon Magus where he [illegible] corresponds to the sun [illegible] of lamentation [illegible] *Paramartha* [illegible] and in God's laughter at the [illegible] in a Leyden Papyrus [illegible] married [illegible] association [illegible] the Creation [illegible]

60 Miss M. [illegible]

61 Miss M. [illegible]

[illegible] Anaxagoras [illegible]

[illegible] Miss Miller [illegible]

[illegible] hand, this is related to the [illegible] antiquity and to the λόγος σπερματικός of the Stoics. In the latest fantasy [illegible] of my patients, her father covered his face with his hands and [illegible] an allusion to *inspiration* been [illegible] looking for. I was then naturally in complete ignorance [illegible] Leibniz and consequently of his idea [illegible] Deus calculat fit mundus.

The allusions to Anaxagoras and Leibniz, which refer to creation through [illegible] capable of producing a new material reality, a reference which seems rather enigmatic at first, but will soon become more understandable.

68 We come now to the associations from which Miss Miller mainly derives her [illegible] creation.

In the first place there is Milton's *Paradise Lost*, of which we had a fine edition at home illustrated by Gustave Doré, and which I have known well since childhood. Then the Book of Job, which has been read aloud to me ever since I can remember. Now if you compare the first line with the first words of *Paradise Lost*, you find it is in the same metre (⏑– / ⏑– / ⏑– / ⏑–):

Of man's first disobedience . . .
When the Eternal first made sound.

Moreover, the general idea of my poem is slightly reminiscent of various passages in Job, and also of one or two places in Handel's[10] oratorio *The Creation* (which appeared in the confusion at the beginning of the dream).

69 So the "lost paradise," which is as we know closely associated with the beginning of the world, is defined more precisely through the line "Of man's first disobedience"—a clear reference to the Fall, which in this connection is not without significance. I know the objection which everyone will raise here, namely that Miss Miller could just as well have chosen any other line as an example, that she picked on the first suitable one purely by accident, and that its content was equally accidental. The criticism levelled at the association method invariably operates with arguments of this kind. The misunderstanding arises from the fact that the law of psychic causality is never taken seriously enough; there are no accidents, no "just as wells." It is so, and there is a very good reason why it is so. It is a fact that Miss Miller's poem is associated with the Fall, and this focuses our attention on the very same problem whose existence we have already surmised. Unfortunately the author neglects to tell us

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[10] Probably Haydn's *Creation* is meant.

which passages in Job came into her mind, so we can only make vague conjectures. First of all, the analogy to *Paradise Lost*: Job loses everything he has, because Satan made God doubt his integrity. In the same way, paradise was lost through the temptation of the serpent, and mankind was cast out into a state of earthly travail. The idea, or rather the mood, expressed by this recollection of *Paradise Lost* is Miss Miller's feeling of having lost something which was somehow connected with Satanic temptation. Like Job, she is an innocent victim, because she did not succumb to the temptation. Job's sufferings are not understood by his friends; none of them knows that Satan has a hand in the game, and that Job is really innocent. Job never wearies of protesting his innocence. Does this, perhaps, give us a clue? We know that certain neurotics and mentally diseased people continually defend their innocence against non-existent attacks. But on closer inspection one discovers that in defending their innocence apparently without cause they are simply indulging in a self-deceiving manoeuvre which derives its energy from those very impulses whose unpleasant character is plainly revealed by the content of the alleged accusations and calumnies.[13]

70 Job suffers doubly: firstly through the loss of his fortune, secondly through the lack of understanding of his friends, a theme that can be traced all through the book. The misery of being misunderstood reminds us of the figure of Cyrano de Bergerac: he too suffers doubly, on the one side through unrequited love, on the other through misunderstanding. He falls, as we have already seen, in the last hopeless struggle against "Falsehood, Compromise, Prejudice, Treachery, and Folly":

> You strip from me the laurel and the rose!

71 Job laments:

> God hath delivered me to the ungodly,
> and turned me over into the hands of the wicked.
> I was at ease, but he hath broken me asunder

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[12] See Job 16: 1–11.

[13] I remember the case of a crazy young girl of 20 who continually imagined that her innocence was suspected, despite all my efforts to talk her out of it. Gradually her indignant defence developed into a correspondingly aggressive erotomania.

he hath also taken me by my neck and shaken me to pieces
and set me up for his mark.
His archers compass me round about,
he cleaveth my reins asunder, and doth not spare;
he poureth out my gall upon the ground.
He breaketh me with breach upon breach,
he runneth upon me like a giant.[18]

72 The emotional analogy lies in having to suffer a [illegible] struggle [illegible]. It is as if this struggle were accompanied from afar by the clangour of [illegible], as if at [illegible] a wonderful and mysterious image that has not yet forced its way into the heart of the upper world. We are [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Rostand's Cyrano [illegible] Christian to Miss Miller's [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the soul of the poet [illegible] [illegible] identifies with these ideas. She [illegible] like Job [illegible] [illegible] wind of the pneuma.

73 We [illegible] some notes by Miss Miller [illegible]:

I remember that at the age of fifteen I was very much excited by an article [illegible] creating its own [illegible], and I passed almost the whole night without sleep wondering what it could mean. From the age of nine to sixteen I went [illegible] to a Presbyterian church where the pastor was a [illegible] now president of a well-known college. And [illegible] I see myself [illegible] in a large pew in church and struggling to keep myself awake [illegible] understand what [illegible] the words he meant when he spoke to us of [illegible] "Cosmos," and "the Gift of Love."

74 There are, then, fairly early memories of the awakening of puberty (nine to sixteen) [illegible] the [illegible] Gift of Love. The medium in which this happy connection took place is the memory of a much respected ecclesiastic who spoke those dark words. From the

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[18] Job 16:12-14.

[illegible] the [illegible] reference to the "Gift of Love."

[illegible] of historical experience.

Miss Miller's [illegible] at this age was the [illegible] problem: [illegible] to be creative? Nature knows only one answer [illegible] the problem [illegible] experience [illegible] with the [illegible] of the [illegible] with the problem. [illegible]

[illegible] and Pathology of So-called Occult Phenomena."

15 Cf. Freud, "Analysis of a Phobia in a Five-year-old Boy," and my "Psychic Conflicts in a Child," para. 462.

in the Immaculate Mother even today. Because it is still born within us, [illegible] solutions to [illegible] saying: "I also have become a mother through the [illegible] spontaneously creating its own object." I believe there [illegible] fantasies [illegible] got hold of this idea, the consequences would indeed be incalculable.

77 Everything psychic has a lower and a higher meaning, as in the profound saying of late classical mysticism: "Heaven above, Heaven below, stars above, stars below, all that is above also is below, know this and rejoice."[28] Here we lay our finger on the secret symbolical significance of everything psychic. We would be doing less than justice to the intellectual originality of our author if we were content to trace back the excitement of that sleepless night simply and solely to the sexual problem in its narrower sense. That would be only one half of the meaning, and the lower half at that. The other half is ideal creation as a substitute for real creation.

78 With personalities who are obviously capable of intellectual effort, the prospect of spiritual fruitfulness is something worthy of their highest aspirations, and for many people it is actually a vital necessity. This other side of the fantasy also explains the excitement, for we are concerned here with a thought that contains [illegible] one of those thoughts which, as Maeterlinck says, spring from the "inconscient supérieur," from a "prospective potency" of a subliminal synthesis.[29] I have had occasion, in the course of my everyday profes-

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[28] [illegible] Cf. the Tabula smaragdina of Hermes and of [illegible] Athanasius Kircher, Oedipus Aegyptiacus, Part II, p. [illegible]

[illegible] Proceedings of the [illegible], par. [illegible]

[29] *Wisdom and Destiny.*

[30] [illegible] I shall hardly escape the charge of mysticism. But perhaps the facts should be considered further: there is no doubt that the unconscious contains combinations which do not reach the threshold of consciousness. Analysis dissolves these combinations back into their historical determinants. It works backwards, like the science of history. Just as a large part of the past is so remote as to be beyond the reach of historical knowledge, so too the greater part of the unconscious determinants is unknowable. History, however, knows nothing either of what is hidden in the past or of what is hidden in the future. Both might be reached with some degree of probability, the first as a postulate, the second as a political prognosis. In so far as tomorrow is al-

sonal work through it, as is an experience about whose certainty I must express myself with much caution, [illegible] the complexity of the material [illegible] that in certain cases of long-standing neurosis a dream, often of visionary clarity, occurs at the time of the onset of the illness or shortly before, which imprints itself indelibly on the mind and, when analysed, reveals to the patient a hidden meaning that anticipates the subsequent events of his life.[18] I am inclined to attribute a similar meaning to the excitement of that restless night, because the later events, so far as Miss Miller consciously or unconsciously reveals them to us, are entirely of a nature to confirm our supposition that we must take that moment as foreshadowing a future life-aim.

79 Miss Miller ends her string of associations with the following comment:

> The whole poem seems to me the result of a mixture of ideas of *Paradise Lost*, *Job*, and *The Creation*, with notions like the "Idea [illegible] creating [illegible] the God of Love," "Chaos," and "Cosmos."

80 This is not unlike bits of coloured glass in a kaleidoscope: fragments of philosophy, aesthetics, and religion are blended together under [illegible] so she tells us

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rests [illegible] and [illegible] are [illegible] a deeper knowledge of the present [illegible] possible a [illegible] far-sighted [illegible] of the future. If we [illegible] we necessarily [illegible] the same result. Just as [illegible] below the [illegible] the subliminal combination [illegible] those of the greater [illegible] far as the [illegible] concerned [illegible] But no more than the scientific [illegible] events, which are rather the [illegible] of political science than the [illegible] psychological [illegible] the object of a [illegible] knew how to follow the natural currents of [illegible]. Thus we cannot [illegible] easily enough [illegible] the unconscious [illegible] seems as if [illegible] fragments of [illegible] dreams [illegible] of dreams [illegible] by [illegible]. Dreams are very often [illegible] Aspects of Dream Psychology," pars. 49 ff.—EDITORS.

[19] Dreams seem to remain especially in the memory for just so long as they correctly sum up the psychological situation of the individual.

[illegible] more. "Only this, and nothing more."

[illegible] With these words Miss Miller shows us politely but emphatically [illegible] There was only this and nothing more [illegible] charm of the sea [illegible] presumably [illegible] the dreamer [illegible] the dreaming [illegible][20] [illegible] There was only this [illegible] for something [illegible] the next moment. This is what [illegible] Miss Miller [illegible] The [illegible] comes from Poe's poem "The Raven," and the operative stanza runs:

While I nodded, nearly napping, suddenly there came a tapping,
As of some one gently rapping, rapping at my chamber door.
"'Tis some visitor," I muttered, "tapping at my chamber door—
Only this, and nothing more."

[illegible] A spectral raven knocks nightly at his door and reminds the poet of his irretrievably lost [illegible] The raven's name is "Nevermore," and he croaks his horrible "Nevermore" as a refrain to every verse. [illegible] and each time the spectre repeats inexorably "Nevermore." In vain [illegible] at the raven.

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[20] How [illegible] the elements [illegible] an experience are can be seen from the [illegible] Modern Greek [illegible]

O maiden, when we kissed [illegible] Who saw us?
A bright star saw us, and the moon saw us,
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] forbids me
Ever to go to the door or look out of the window
[illegible] as [illegible] flowers.
And never will I rest until my beloved is mine.

"Be that word our sign of parting, bird or fiend!" I shrieked, upstarting—
"Get thee back into the tempest and the Night's Plutonian shore!
Leave no black plume as a token of that lie thy soul hath spoken!
Leave my loneliness unbroken!—quit the bust above my door!
Take thy beak from out my heart, and take thy form from off my door!"
Quoth the raven, "Nevermore."

82 [illegible] Miss Miller [illegible]

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[22] [illegible]

[23] This again [illegible] Nerval's [illegible] Aurelia, whose [illegible] "Psychological Aspects of the Kore," pars. 356ff.

the human object. What is [illegible] in question here is the [illegible] object, [illegible] the result that the [illegible] is [illegible] a sort of substitute. It is [illegible] a perfectly genuine experience, though like everything else it can be put to improper use.

84 The winding path of [illegible] seems to be a *via dolorosa*—at any rate, *Paradise Lost* and the parallel reference to Job lead one to that conclusion. The initial hints of [illegible], taken with Christian, which really points to Cyrano, prove that the long way round is a way of suffering, just as it was when mankind, after the Fall, had to bear the burden of earthly life, or when Job suffered under the power of God and Satan and became the unsuspecting plaything of [illegible] forces. *Faust* offers the same spectacle of a wager with God:

> Mephistopheles: What do you wager? You will lose him yet,
> Provided you give *me* permission
> To steer him gently in the course I choose.[23]

85 Compare with this the passage in Job, where Satan says:

> But put forth thine hand now, and touch all that he hath, and he will curse thee to thy face.[24]

86 While in Job the two great forces are characterized simply as good and evil, the [illegible] is a de[illegible] here in *Faust*, where the devil is sharply characterized as the appropriate role of tempter. This aspect is lacking in Job, but at the same time Job is not unconscious of the conflict within his own soul, and he never ceases to inveigh against the arguments of his friends who want to convince him of the evil in his heart. To that extent one could say that Faust is the more conscious in that he openly admits his psychic conflicts.

87 Miss Miller acts like Job: she admits nothing and pretends that good and evil come from outside. Hence her identification with Job is significant in this respect also. But there is another very important analogy still to be mentioned: the procreative urge, which is how love must be regarded from the natural standpoint, remains the essential attribute of the God whom Miss Miller apparently derives from the erotic impression, for

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[23] Trans. by MacNeice, p. 18, modified.

[24] Job 1:11. [Cf. these pars. with Jung, "Answer to Job."—EDITORS.]

which reason he is praised in the hymn as Creator. We see the same thing in Job: Satan is the destroyer of Job's fruitfulness, but God is the Author of fruitfulness; therefore, at the end of the book, he addresses a paean filled with lofty poetic beauty to his own creative power. But it is curious to notice that he gives chief consideration to two highly unsympathetic representatives of the animal kingdom, Behemoth and Leviathan, both expressive of the crudest force conceivable in nature.

88 Miss Miller uses the text of the Authorized Version, which, like Luther's version, is very suggestive:

> Behold now behemoth, which I made with thee;
> he eateth grass as an ox.
> Lo now, his strength is in his loins,
> and his force is in the navel of his belly.
> He moveth his tail like a cedar:
> the sinews of his stones are wrapped together.
> His bones are as strong pieces of brass,
> his bones are like bars of iron.
> He is the chief of the ways of God. . . .
>
> Canst thou draw out leviathan with an hook?
> or his tongue with a cord which thou lettest down?
> Canst thou put an hook into his nose?
> or bore his jaw through with a thorn?
> Will he make many supplications unto thee?
> will he speak soft words unto thee?
> Will he make a covenant with thee?
> wilt thou take him for a servant for ever?[25]

89 God speaks thus in order to parade his power and omnipotence forcibly before Job's eyes. God is as Behemoth and Leviathan:[26] the fruitful abundance of Nature, the ungovernable wildness and boisterousness of Nature, the overwhelming danger of the unchained power.[27] What was it that destroyed Job's earthly paradise? The unchained power of Nature

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[25] Job 40:15–19; 41:1–4.

[26] Cf. Schärf, "Die Gestalt des Satans im Alten Testament," in Jung, Symbolik des Geistes, pp. 288ff.

[27] Job 41:19–22:

> Out of his mouth go burning lamps, and sparks of fire leap out.
> Out of his nostrils goeth smoke, as out of a seething pot or caldron.
> His breath kindleth coals, and a flame goeth out of his mouth.
> In his neck remaineth strength, and sorrow is turned into joy before him.

(continued)

God, so the poet gives us to understand, has simply shown Job his other side for once, the side we call the Devil, and let loose all the terrors of Nature upon the unfortunate Job. The God who created such monstrosities, at the very thought of which we poor weak mortals stiffen with fear, must certainly harbour within himself qualities which give one pause. This God dwells in the heart, in the unconscious.[38] That is the source of our fear of the unspeakably terrible, and of the strength to withstand the terror. Man, that is to say his conscious ego, is a mere bagatelle, a feather whirled hither and thither with every gust of wind, sometimes the sacrificer and sometimes the sacrificed, and he cannot hinder either. The Book of Job shows us God at work both as creator and destroyer. Who is this God? An idea that has forced itself upon mankind in all parts of the earth and in all ages and always in similar form: an otherworldly power which has us at its mercy, which begets and kills, an image of all the necessities and inevitabilities of life. Since, psychologically speaking, the God-image is a complex of ideas of an archetypal nature, it must necessarily be regarded as representing a certain sum of energy (libido) which appears in projection.[39] In most of the existing religions it seems that the formative factor which creates the attributes of divinity is the

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The flakes of his flesh are joined together: they are firm in themselves; they cannot be moved.

His heart is as firm as a stone; yea, as hard as a piece of the nether millstone.

When he raiseth up himself, the mighty are afraid: by reason of breakings they purify themselves.

The sword of him that layeth at him cannot hold: the spear, the dart, nor the habergeon.

He esteemeth iron as straw, and brass as rotten wood.

The arrow cannot make him flee: slingstones are turned with him into stubble.

Darts are counted as stubble: he laugheth at the shaking of a spear.

[38] These expressions are based on the [illegible] whose source is [illegible] psychological.

[39] This proposition has aroused much criticism, because people have failed to understand that it is a psychological view and not a metaphysical statement. As I have [illegible] the psychic fact [illegible] as I later called it. It is therefore characteristic not only of all the higher forms of religion, but appears spontaneously in the dreams of [illegible]. It is a fact per se, as such an autonomous [illegible] image and it has a relatively independent [illegible] of the conscious mind. It is a psychic existent which should not in itself be confused with

[illegible]

[illegible]

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the idea of a metaphysical God. The [illegible] of the archetype neither postulates a God, nor does it deny that he [illegible]

[illegible]

called [illegible] 'hears.' Cf. pl. 1b.

[illegible] into [illegible] sublime feelings and religious poetry, in which [illegible] people [illegible] and [illegible] of an [illegible] about the [illegible] of such a situation [illegible] to [illegible] one way or the other [illegible] would prefer [illegible] purpose of the [illegible] in the case of a [illegible] There are two [illegible] processes, that is to say, it is a hypothesis of the greatest heuristic value that the psyche is essentially purposive and directed.

9 That the [illegible] of our poem has been shown to be the love-episode is an explanation that does not amount to very much at present, for the question of purpose still remains to be settled. Only the discovery of the purpose can provide a satisfactory answer to psychological problems. We [illegible] not a [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] with the [illegible] experience at a certain [illegible] such a process did not take place [illegible] consciously and spontaneously [illegible] There is no doubt [illegible] transformation [illegible] the same [illegible] as [illegible] of natural [illegible] It must be a [illegible] between the [illegible] a certain [illegible] we cannot [illegible] experience [illegible] was [illegible] in other words that there was a certain amount of repression. The latter term should always be used [illegible] when it is a [illegible] of [illegible] successful [illegible] point [illegible] were [illegible] unconscious [illegible] of association [illegible] provided by the [illegible] must have [illegible] and must [illegible] conscious act of repression.

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11 See my "On the Nature of Dreams," pars. 541ff.

62 Rep[illegible] however [illegible] is an i[illegible] way of evading the [illegible] W[illegible] (Clearly [illegible] the subject. As we have [illegible] [illegible]ssive [illegible] in [illegible]ness [illegible] this case the [illegible] activated [illegible] as we know always [illegible]ted [illegible] are [illegible] external [illegible] are [illegible] A repressed [illegible] and its affe[illegible] [illegible] as such is not [illegible] enforce its withdrawal.

63 The [illegible] consists in the fact that one has [illegible] respons[illegible] In [illegible] the [illegible] of the human [illegible] and [illegible] cannot be exp[illegible] It [illegible] [illegible] than the [illegible] for the [illegible] of making a [illegible]

64 If [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] are intro[illegible] [illegible] then we are [illegible] [illegible] any [illegible]

[illegible] imago as well.)

[illegible]

Cf. I Peter 4 : 7 and Philemon, vv. 4 and 5.

[illegible]

[illegible] If we say we have no [illegible] is not in us" (RSV; also nn. 54–56)

[illegible]

[illegible] I Peter [illegible] 24. [illegible] Hebrews 9 [illegible] 28.

[illegible]

[illegible] psychoses.

threat to the security of the [illegible] and ever present danger is counteracted by the [illegible] of the Christian community whose psychological [illegible] is best expressed in the [illegible] of St. James: "Confess your sins to one another."[40] [illegible] is equally [illegible] especially important to preserve the community in mutual love. The [illegible] commands leave no doubt as to its scope:

Through love be servants of one another.[41]

Let brotherly love continue.[42]

And let us consider how to stir up one another to love and good works, not neglecting to meet together.[42]

96 Fellowship in the Christian community appears to be a condition of salvation, or however [illegible] wishes to describe the desired state. The first Epistle of John expresses similar views:

He who loves his brother abides in the light [illegible] But he who hates his brother is in the darkness [illegible][43]

No man has ever seen God; if we love one another, God abides in us and his love is perfected in us.[44]

97 We have already referred to the mutual confession of sin and the transference of [illegible] qualities to the divine figure. Between God and man there thus arises an intimate [illegible] Yet man shows [illegible] he [illegible] to God [illegible] his fellows. The latter relationship, indeed, seems to be just as essential as the former. If God abides in us only when we love our brother, we might be led to suppose that love is even more important than God. This is not so absurd when we consider the words of Hugh of St. Victor:

You have great power, O Love, you alone could draw God down from heaven to earth. O how strong is your bond with which even God could be bound [illegible] You brought him bound with your [illegible] you [illegible] him wounded with your arrows. [illegible] you wounded him who was invulnerable, you bound him who was free, you drew down him who was immutable, you made the Eternal mortal. [illegible] O Love, how great is your victory![45]

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[40] James 5 16 [41] Gal. 5 13 [illegible] "Bear one another's burdens" (RSV) and [illegible] [illegible] Hebrews 13 [illegible]

[42] Hebrews 13 1f. [43] I John 2 10f. [44] I John 4 12.

[45] Magnam ergo vim habes, caritas, tu sola Deum trahere [illegible] de caelo ad terras. O quam forte est [illegible]

[illegible]

(I John 4:12)

[illegible]

[illegible] cols. 974f.

[illegible] abides in him" (RSV).

stands in part at the disposal of the ego and in part confronts the ego as an autonomous force, sometimes threatening it so powerfully that it is either put in a position of unavoidable constraint or else discovers in the unconscious a new and unexpected source of strength. Since the reaction of the unconscious to the conscious mind is not merely mechanical or complementary, but rather compensatory, taking its cue from the actual necessities of the conscious attitude, the intelligent character of this unconscious activity can hardly be denied. Experiences like these make it immediately understandable why the God-image is so often regarded as a personal being.

99 Now since man's *psychic totality* in the widest sense has been thrust upon him to an increasing degree by the unconscious,[47] this naturally gives rise to the view that the God-image was a spirit who required man's spirit. This is not an invention of Christianity only, but a common human experience to which even the atheist bears witness. The important thing is *what* he talks about, not whether he agrees with it or not. The other definition of God therefore asserts: "God is spirit."[48] The pneumatic God-image has been further abstracted as the Logos, and this gives the "love of God" that peculiarly abstract quality which is also apparent in the idea of "Christian love."

100 It is this spiritual love, which is actually far more appropriate to the God-image than to man, that is supposed to bind the human community together:

> Welcome one another, therefore, as Christ has welcomed you, for the glory of God.[49]

101 It is obvious that, since Christ [illegible] "divine" love means love for one another should also have and indeed *can* have, a spiritual and divine quality. However, it is not so obvious from the psychological point of view, since, as a rule, the energy of an archetype is not at the disposal of the conscious mind. Hence [illegible] are [illegible] regarded as either spiritual or [illegible]. The energy of an archetype communicates itself to the ego only

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[47] One cannot of one's own free will choose and desire something that one does not know. Hence a spiritual goal cannot consciously be striven for if it does not yet exist.

[48] John 4 : 24, RSV.

[49] Romans 15 : 7, RSV.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the stars" by magic power

[illegible] is again connected with the fertilizing agent

[illegible] the sun. In his [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] shall defeat both you and it."

[illegible]

[illegible] brought him.

[illegible]

5 One [illegible]

We [illegible] urge him on?

[illegible]

6 [illegible]

[illegible] most fed.

[illegible]

an [illegible] in the [illegible] of which [illegible], [illegible] another and each [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] of a [illegible] because a face and with [illegible] all [illegible] [illegible] forward. This was not the [illegible] of any [illegible] but [illegible] the great masses [illegible]. They were [illegible] driven [illegible] the [illegible] for [illegible] mainly [illegible] in a state of [illegible]. The meaning of these cults (Christianity and Mithraism) is clear: moral [illegible] of the animal [illegible]. The [illegible] of both these religions betrays something of that feeling of [illegible] which [illegible] their first [illegible], and which we can scarcely appreciate today. We can hardly [illegible] [illegible] streets of Imperial Rome. But we would know that [illegible]

[illegible] The ascent [illegible] idea [illegible] Book X [illegible] The [illegible] [illegible] passages of memory." (Trans. by Sheed, p. 170.)

[illegible] The [illegible] of Mithraism [illegible] language. Mithraism was the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] among them were [illegible] (p. [illegible]).

[illegible] what is [illegible] We [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] In [illegible] world wars the [illegible] beings are [illegible] and not transcendent.

115 [illegible] we start [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] proper living in [illegible] wicked [illegible]

[illegible] and [illegible] of that age [illegible]

[illegible] before her eyes. Miss Miller [illegible] between the [illegible] inexplicable [illegible] poem [illegible] more than a [illegible] as a dream [illegible] of our doing.

106 It is [illegible] that the modern mind [illegible] and everything rather than [illegible] its meaning. [illegible]

107 [illegible]

[illegible] whole drama of rebirth in *novam infantiam*!

Nature was [illegible] the [illegible] passage in St. Augustine's [illegible]

[illegible] seas and turn away from themselves.[92]

[illegible] But it was not only the aesthetic beauty [illegible] world [illegible] [illegible] were also [illegible] of [illegible] arousing [illegible]

[illegible] Franz Cumont describes [illegible] as follows:

The gods were everywhere, and [illegible] and the [illegible] of [illegible] Perhaps [illegible] has ever [illegible] sky [illegible] verse.[93]

[illegible] beautifully described by Seneca:

[illegible] than [illegible] sky [illegible] when you see a [illegible] made by [illegible] a great [illegible] We worship [illegible] water [illegible] from the [illegible] of the earth [illegible] springs [illegible]

[illegible] *The Reno*[illegible]

[illegible] *The* [illegible]

certain pools we hold sacred on account of their sombre darkness or their immense depth.[64]

Nearly [illegible] has [illegible] worship [illegible] from [illegible] as [illegible] passage in the Confessions of St. Augustine:

What do I love when I love my God? Not the beauty of any bodily thing, [illegible] the grace [illegible] nor the brightness of the light that rejoices the eye, nor the sweet melodies of richly varied songs, nor the fragrance of flowers and sweet-smelling [illegible] and spices, not manna [illegible] nor the limbs [illegible] pleasing to the flesh. None of [illegible] I love when I love my God. And yet I love a kind of light, and a kind of [illegible] a kind of fragrance, a kind of food, and a kind of embrace, when I love my God, who is the light and the voice and the fragrance, and the food and the embrace of my inner man: where that light shines into my soul which no space [illegible] where that voice sounds which no time takes away, [illegible] which no wind scatters, [illegible] that no satiety [illegible]. That is what I love when I love my God.[65]

The world and [illegible] created [illegible] As St. Augustine says (X, 6) [illegible] possible to love [illegible] Augustine [illegible] knew [illegible] power [illegible] beauty [illegible]

Since you alone [illegible] nature [illegible] and without [illegible] nothing rises into the light [illegible] nothing [illegible] or lovely can come to be . . .[67]

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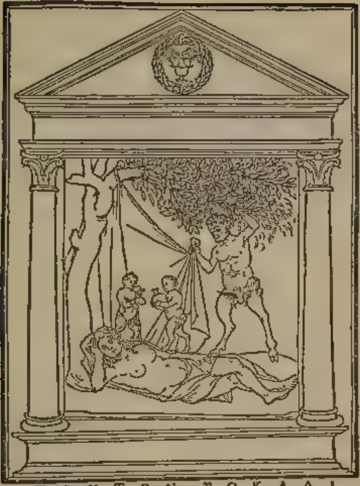
[64] Cf. Gummere trans., pp. 272–73.
[65] Confessions, X, 6, trans. based on Sheed, p. 170.
[66] Trans. by Sheed, p. 171.
[67] [illegible]

Quae quoniam rerum naturam sola gubernas,
Nec sine te quicquam dias in luminis oras
[illegible]



ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΟΚΑΔΙ

Fig. 1. The Mother of All Living

From the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, Venice, 1499

9 Thus Lucretius extols alma Venus as the ruling principle of nature. To such a *daemonium* man falls an abject victim unless he can categorically reject its seductive influence at the outset. It is not merely a question of sensuality and of aesthetic corruption but—and this is the point—of paganism and nature worship (Fig. 1). Because gods dwell in created things, man

[illegible]

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[85] Cf. Kerényi, "Die Göttin Natur," [illegible]

[86] Cf. Hartlaub, *Giorgiones Geheimnis*, [illegible]

[illegible]

writes half [illegible] conscious psyche.

114 [illegible]

agents with which it is not only possible but absolutely necessary for us to come to terms.[12] While making this discovery, we shall not fail to understand what dogma is about, what it formulates, and the reason for its existence.[13]

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[12] See my "Relations between the Ego and the Unconscious," pars. 353ff.

[13] When I wrote this book, these things were still completely dark to me, and I knew no better counsel than to quote to myself the following passage from the 41st letter of Seneca to Lucilius (Gummere trans., pp. 273ff.): "You are doing an excellent thing, one which will be wholesome for you, if you persist in your effort to attain sound understanding; it is foolish to pray for this when you can acquire it from yourself. We do not need to uplift our hands towards heaven, or to beg the keeper of a temple to let us approach his idol's ear, as if in this way our prayers were more likely to be heard. God is near you, he is with you, he is within you. This is what I mean, Lucilius: a holy spirit indwells within us, one who works our good and bad deeds, and is our guardian. As we treat this spirit, so are we treated by it. Indeed, no man can be good without the help of God. Can one rise superior to fortune unless God helps him to rise? He it is that gives noble and upright counsel. In each good man 'a god doth dwell, but what god we know not.'"

V

THE SONG OF THE MOTH

115 Shortly after the events described above, Miss Miller travelled from Geneva to Paris. She says:

My fatigue on the train was such that I hardly slept an hour. It was horribly hot in the ladies' compartment.

116 At four o'clock in the morning she noticed a moth fluttering round the light in the carriage. She then tried to go to sleep again. Suddenly the following poem sprang into her mind:

The Moth to the Sun

I longed for thee when first I crawled to consciousness.
My dreams were all of thee when in the chrysalis I lay.
Oft myriads of my kind beat out their lives
Against some feeble spark once caught from thee.
And one hour more—and my poor life is gone;
Yet my last effort, as my first desire, shall be
But to approach thy glory; then, having gained
One raptured glance, I'll die content,
For I, the source of beauty, warmth, and life
Have in his perfect splendour once beheld!

117 Before we go into the material which Miss Miller offers for an understanding of the poem, we will again cast a glance over the psychological situation in which the poem arose. Some weeks or months appear to have elapsed since the last direct manifestation of the unconscious. About this period we have no information; we know nothing about her moods and fantasies during the interval. If any conclusion is to be drawn from this silence, it is that nothing of real importance has happened during the time between the two poems, and that the new poem is another verbalized fragment reflecting the unconscious working out of

an experience that has been going on for months. It is highly probable that it is connected with the same conflict as before.¹ The earlier product, the Hymn of Creation, bears, however, little resemblance to the present poem. This has a truly Faustian and romantic character. [illegible] meet. But we must ask: is a moth really so enamoured of the sun? We all know the proverbial saying about the moth that flies into the flame and burns its wings, but we know of no legend about a moth that strives towards the sun. Evidently there is a condensation here of two things that do not really belong together: first the moth which flutters round the light until it burns its wings, and then the image of a tiny ephemeral being, the May-fly perhaps, which in touching contrast to the eternity of the stars longs for the imperishable light. This image is reminiscent of Faust, where he says:

Mark now [illegible] the leafy glades
[illegible] the setting sun
N[illegible] the west
Has[illegible]
New life afar: I long to join his quest.
O[illegible] the ground
I [illegible]
[illegible] at my feet
A[illegible]
Ye[illegible]
The[illegible]
B[illegible]
The heavens [illegible] the waves below
A[illegible]
Ah me, the pinions by the spirit won
[illegible]²

A little later Faust sees the black dog which is roaming through the corn and stubble, the poodle who is the devil himself, the tempter in whose hellish fires Faust will soon singe his wings. [illegible] that he was expressing [illegible] the beauty

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¹ [illegible]
² Part I, trans. by Wayne, pp. 66–67.

[illegible] the hands of the Evil One.

> Spurn this terrestrial sun,
> Leave, resolute, its loveliness,[6]

[illegible]

119 [illegible]

[illegible]

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[6] Ibid., p. 54, modified.

[illegible] attitude that was itself obsolete.

[illegible]
[illegible][9]

121 [illegible]

122 [illegible] take the first [illegible] [illegible] flutters [illegible] light until it burns its wings.

123 [illegible]

[illegible] but a few [illegible]

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[9] Part I, trans. by Wayne, pp. 64–65, modified.

[10] FAUST: I long to join his quest
[illegible]
Then would [illegible]
The world in cradled stillness at my feet. . . .
Yet stirs my heart with new-awakened might
[illegible]
(Part I, trans. by Wayne, p. 66.)

[illegible] the astrological hopes of redemption. This mood may well be reflected in Virgil's eclogue:

> Now has come the last age [illegible] the song of the Cumaean Sibyl; the great cycle of periods begins anew. Now the Virgin[6] returns, and the reign of Saturn is restored. Now a new generation comes down from high heaven. Only do thou, chaste Lucina, favour the birth of the child, through whom the iron brood shall cease to be and a golden race arise throughout the world. Thine own Apollo now is king. [illegible] Under thy guidance any lingering traces of our guilt shall be wiped out and the earth shall be freed from its perpetual fear. He shall have the gift of divine life, shall see heroes consort with gods, and shall himself be seen mingling with them. He shall rule over a world to which his father's virtues have brought peace.[7]

For many the cult of asceticism that followed the wholesale expansion of Christianity heralded a new adventure: monasticism and the life of the anchorite. Faust takes the opposite road; for him the ascetic ideal is sheer death. He struggles for liberation and wins life by binding himself over to evil, and thereby brings about the death of what he loves most: Gretchen. He tears himself away from his grief and sacrifices his life in unceasing work, thus saving many lives.[8] His double mission as saviour and destroyer had been intended from the beginning:

WAGNER: With what emotion must your noble soul
Receive the acclamations of the crowd!
FAUST: So with a poison of this hellish sort,
We made these hills and valleys our resort,
And ravaged here far worse than the pest.
These hands have ministered [illegible]

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[6] Astraea, virgin daughter of Zeus and Themis, who at the close of the Golden Age forsook the degenerate earth.

[7] Virgil, Eclogue IV. Trans. based on Rieu, pp. 41f. Cf. Norden, Die Geburt des Kindes. [illegible] this eclogue [illegible] was [illegible] as a [illegible] this [illegible] as [illegible] as prophetic [illegible] in time.

[8] "Below the hills a marshy plain
Is poisoning all that we have won,
This pestilential swamp to drain
Would crown the work I have begun,
Give many millions room to [illegible]" MacNeice trans., p. 287.

[illegible] poem. Moreover, a play entitled *The Moth and the Flame*, which I saw a few years ago, also came back to me as a [illegible] of possible [illegible] poem. You see how often [illegible] impressed itself on me!"

114 The general impression [illegible] the poem made on the author [illegible] that it expresses a very specific [illegible] [illegible] Miss Miller [illegible] her remark [illegible] [illegible] has already [illegible] When something [illegible] [illegible] *ponere magna solebam.*

115 [illegible] that the more [illegible]

As regards the psychological evaluation, the former is more important than the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

116 The question of the source is more important because it endows its object with the glamour and radiance of beauty and thus sometimes transforms the world in a decisive way. Nature is beautiful because I love it, and all good things are good because I feel them as good. Values are chiefly created by the subjective reactions. This is not to deny the existence of objective values altogether, only that their validity depends [illegible] [illegible] of opinion. In the erotic sphere it is abundantly clear how little the object counts and how much the subjective reaction.

117 Apparently Miss Miller did not think much of the officer, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] but that did not prevent the relationship [illegible] [illegible] and having an effect which even [illegible] to the Deity. The moods apparently produced by such [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] reality [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] potentiality of love. So when Miss Miller praises God or the sun she really means her love, the most [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of human nature.

118 The reader will remember how the chain of associations we adduced in the previous chapter [illegible] the song of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the God of Creation, the God of Light, [illegible] the sun and the God of Love. With the ambiguity [illegible] [illegible] progression from positive to negative [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] symbols [illegible] the object in the second poem, where [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] component [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the terrestrial sun [illegible] has always been [illegible] the concrete [illegible] [illegible] has become a symbolic one [illegible] God. Psychologically, however, God is the name for a complex of ideas grouped round a powerful feeling; the feeling-tone is what really gives the complex its characteristic efficacy, for it represents an emotional tension which can be formulated in terms of energy. Light and fire attributes depict the intensity of the feeling-tone and are therefore expressions for the psychic energy which manifests itself as libido. If one worships God, sun, or fire, one is worshipping intensity and power, in other words [illegible] [illegible]

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11 Cf. my "Psychology of Dementia Praecox," pars. 78ff., and my "Review of the Complex Theory," pars. 200ff.

[illegible] of psychic energy, as [illegible] Every force and every phenomenon is a special form of energy. Form is both an image and a mode of manifestation. It expresses two things: the energy which takes shape in it, and the medium in which that energy appears. On the one hand one can say that energy creates its own image, and on the other hand that the character of the medium forces it into a definite form. One man will derive the idea of God from the sun, another will maintain that it is the numinous feelings it arouses which give the sun its god-like significance. The former, by attitude and temperament, believes more in the causal sequence of the environment, the latter more in the spontaneity of psychic experience. I fear it is the old question of which came first, the chicken or the egg. [illegible] I incline to the view that in this particular case the psych[illegible] takes precedence [illegible] explains far [illegible] the [illegible] primacy of the environment.

I am therefore of the opinion that the general psychic energy [illegible] relates to God [illegible] as the divine Power. We thus arrive [illegible] the psychological point of view the God-image [illegible] As Scripture says: "God is [illegible] he is [illegible] he is [illegible] He who does not love does not know God; for God is love" and "If we love one another, God abides in us."[20]

[illegible] as the psych[illegible] he has consciously created [illegible] as we have [illegible] as a [illegible] of the [illegible] seek [illegible] but it is rather a [illegible] of the energy which [illegible] to the [illegible] and which [illegible] to the sense of [illegible] contrary [illegible] a god around in [illegible] of power and even eternal presence in some form, as these are attributes of divinity. To carry a god within oneself is practically the same as being God oneself. In Christianity, despite the weeding out of the most grossly sensual ideas and symbols, we can still find traces of this psychology. The idea of becoming a god is even more obvious in the pagan mystery cults, where the neophyte, after his initiation, is himself lifted up to divine status: at the conclusion of the consecration rites in the syncretistic Isis mysteries[44] he was crowned with a crown of palm leaves, set up on a pedestal, and worshipped as Helios (Pl. V). In a magic papyrus published by Dieterich as a Mithraic liturgy, there is a ἱερὸς λόγος in which the neophyte says: "I am a star wandering together with you and shining up from the depths."[45]

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[20] [illegible] New Testament [illegible] Agape is therefore an unmistakably psychic function.

131 In his religious ecstasy the neophyte makes himself the equal of the stars, just as the saints in the Middle Ages put themselves, through the stigmata, on a level with Christ. St. Francis of Assisi carried the relationship even further by speaking of his brother the sun and his sister the moon.[46]

132 Hippolytus insists on the [illegible] deification of the believer: "You have become God, you will be a companion of God and co-heir in Christ." He says of the deification: "That is the 'Know thyself.'"[47] Even Jesus proved his divine Sonship to the Jews by appealing to Psalm 82:6: "I have said, Ye are gods" (John 10:34).

133 This idea of becoming a god is age-old. The old belief relegates it to the time after death, but the mystery cults bring it about in this world. An ancient Egyptian text represents it very beautifully as the triumphal song of the ascending soul:

I am the god Atum, I who alone was,
I am the god Ra at his first appearing,

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[44] Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*, XI: "In my right hand I carried a torch blazing with flames, my head was garlanded with a fair crown of white palm, with the leaves standing out like rays. Thus I was adorned like the sun and set up as an image."

[45] Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, pp. 8–9: "Ἐγώ εἰμι σύμπλανος ὑμῖν ἀστὴρ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βάθους ἀναλάμπων."

[46] In the same way the Sassanid kings styled themselves "brothers of the sun and moon." In ancient Egypt the soul of every Pharaoh was a split-off from the Horus-soul.

[47] *Elenchos*, X, 34, 4. (Γέγονας γὰρ θεός· ἔσῃ δὲ ὁμιλητὴς θεοῦ καὶ συγκληρονόμος Χριστοῦ. Τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ γνῶθι σεαυτόν.)

I am the great god who created himself,
The lord of the gods, to whom no other god is equal.
I was yesterday and know tomorrow; the battleground of the gods
was made when I spoke.
I know the name of that great god who dwells there.
I am the god Min at his coming forth, whose feathers I place upon
my head.[18]
I am in my country, I come into my city. I am daily together with
my father Atum.
My impurity is driven out, and the sin which was in me is trodden
under foot.
I washed myself in the two great pools which are in Heracleopolis,
in which the sacrifices of men are purified for that great god who
dwells there.
I go on my way where I wash my head in the water of the righteous.
I reach this land of the glorified, and enter in at the splendid
portal.
You who stand before me, reach me your hands, it is I, I am become
one of you. I am daily together with my father Atum.[19]

134 When man becomes God, his importance and power are enormously increased.[20] That seems to have been its main purpose: to strengthen the individual against his all too human weakness and insecurity in personal life. But the strengthening of his power consciousness is only the outward effect of his becoming God; far more important are the deeper lying processes in the realm of feeling. For whoever introverts libido, i.e., withdraws it from the external object, suffers the necessary consequences of introversion: the libido which is turned inwards, into

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[18] The [illegible] feathers [illegible] power. The feather [illegible] sun-rays, hair, crowning as [illegible] identification with the sun. For instance, the spiked [illegible] appeared on Roman coins from the time when the Caesars were identified with the [illegible] comes [illegible] the halo means the same thing, it is an image of the sun [illegible] priests [illegible] shaven heads that shone like stars (Apuleius).

[19] "The Coming Forth by Day from the Underworld," in Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 343 (trans. modified).

[20] The [illegible] Mithraic liturgy reads: "[illegible] I am a star wandering [illegible] and [illegible] When you have said this, the disc of the sun will immediately [illegible]." Through his prayer the celebrant has the divine power to make the sun come out.

the subject reverts to the [illegible] and digs up from the treasure-house of memory those images glimpsed long ago, which bring back the time when the world was a full and rounded whole. First and foremost are the memories of childhood, among them the imagos of father and mother. These are unique and imperishable, and in adult life not many things are needed to reawaken those memories and make them active. The regressive reactivation of the father- and mother-imagos plays an important role in religion. The benefits of religion are equivalent in their effects to the parental care lavished upon the child, and religious feelings are rooted in unconscious memories of certain tender emotions in early infancy—memories of archetypal intuitions, as expressed in the above hymn:

> I am in my [illegible]. I come into my [illegible]. I am [illegible] together with my father Atum.[21]

95 The visible father of the world is the sun, the heavenly fire, for which reason father, God, sun, and fire are mythologically synonymous. The well-known fact that in worshipping the sun's strength we pay homage to the great generative force of Nature is the plainest possible evidence—if evidence were still needed—that in God we honour the energy of the archetype. This symbolism is expressed very plastically in the [illegible] of the Dieterich papyrus: after the second prayer stars float down towards the neophyte from the disc of the sun, five-pointed, in great numbers and filling the whole air. "When the sun's disc has opened, you will see an immense circle, and fiery doors which are closed." The neophyte then utters the following prayer:

> Give ear to me, hear me, Lord, who hast fastened the fiery bolts of heaven with thy spirit, double-bodied, fire-ruler, creator of light, fire-breathing, fiery-hearted, shining spirit, rejoicing in fire, beautiful light, Lord of light, fiery-bodied, giver of light, sower of fire, confounding with fire, living light, whirling fire, mover of light, hurler

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[21] Cf. the sayings in John: "I and the Father are one" (10:30). "He who has seen me has seen the Father" (14:9). "Believe me that I am in the Father and the Father in me" (14:11). "I came from the Father and have come into the world; again, I am leaving the world and going to the Father" (16:28). "I am ascending to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God" (20:17).—RSV.

[illegible] of light, shaker of fiery light, conqueror of the stars, etc.[22]

136 [illegible] is an almost inexhaustible catalogue of light and fire images, which for sheer extravagance can only be compared with the endless variations about "love" in Christian mysticism. Among the many texts which [illegible], I select this passage from Mechthild of Magdeburg (1212–77):

> Ah Lord, love me greatly, love me often and long! For the more continuously Thou lovest me, the purer I shall be; the more fervently Thou lovest me, the more lovely I shall be; the longer Thou lovest me the more holy I shall become, even here on earth.

137 God answers:

> That I love thee continuously is My Nature
> For I Myself am Love;
> That I love thee fervently is My Desire
> For I long to be greatly loved.
> That I love thee long comes from My Eternity
> For I am everlasting and without end.[23]

138 Religious regression makes use of the parental imago, but only as a symbol—that is to say, it clothes the archetype in the image of the parents, just as it bodies forth the archetype's energy by making use of sensuous ideas like fire, light, heat,[24] fecundity, generative power, and so on. In mysticism the inwardly perceived vision of the Divine is often nothing but sun or light, and is rarely, if ever, personified. For example, there is this significant passage in the Mithraic liturgy: "The path of the visible gods will appear through the disc of the sun, who is God my father."[25]

139 Hildegarde of Bingen (1100–1178) declares:

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[22] [illegible]

[23] The Flowing Light of the Godhead, trans. [illegible] Menzies, p. [illegible]

[24] Renan (Dialogues, p. 168) says: "Avant que la religion fût arrivée à proclamer [illegible] idéal [illegible] monde [illegible] culte fût raisonnable et [illegible] soleil."

[25] Dieterich, p. 6, l. 5: [illegible] φανήσεται.

But the light I see is not local, but is everywhere, and brighter far than the cloud which supports the sun. I can in no way know the form of this light, just as I cannot see the sun's disc entire. But in this light I see at times, though not often, another light which is called by me the living light, but when and in what manner I see

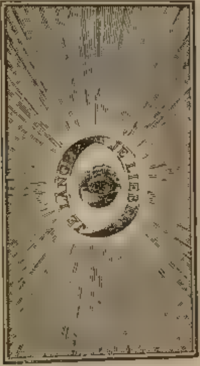

Fig. 8. The Eye of God
Frontispiece to Jakob Böhme, Seraphinisch Blumengärtlein, Amsterdam, 1700

this I do not know how to say. And when I see it all weariness and need is lifted from me, and all at once I feel like a simple young girl and not like an old woman.[50]

[illegible] Symeon the New Theologian (970–1040) says:

> My tongue lacks words, and what happens in me my spirit sees clearly but does not explain. It sees the Invisible, that emptiness of all forms, simple, not complex, and in extent infinite. For it sees no beginning, and it sees no end, and is entirely unconscious

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[50] Pitra, *Analecta sacra*, Vol. VIII, p. 333, quoted from Buber, *Ekstatische Konfessionen*, p. 51.

scious of any middle, and does not know what to call that which it sees. Something complete appears, it seems to me, not indeed with the thing itself, but through a kind of *participation*. For you enkindle fire from fire, and you receive the whole fire; but this thing remains undiminished and undivided, as before. Similarly, that which is imparted separates itself from the first, and spreads like something corporeal into many lights. But this is something spiritual, immeasurable, indivisible, and inexhaustible. For it is not separated when it becomes many, but remains undivided, and is in me, and rises in my poor heart like a sun or circular disc of the sun, like light, for it is a light.[37]

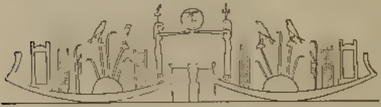

Fig. 9. The Voyage of the Sun: The Western Goddess in the Barge of Evening gives the Sun-disc to the Eastern Goddess in the Barge of Morning

Late Egyptian

That the thing perceived as an inner light, as the sun of the other world, is a feeling-toned complex of the psyche, is clear from Symeon's words:

And questing after it, my spirit sought to comprehend the splendour it had seen, but found it not as a creature and could not get away from created things, that it might embrace that uncreated and uncomprehended splendour. Nevertheless it wandered everywhere and strove to behold it. It searched through the air, it wandered over the heavens, it crossed the abysses, it searched, so it seemed, to the ends of the world.[38] But in all that it found nothing, for all was the purest from the beloved. Like the sun, she burns to ashes with the flame of her immense vitality anything that does not desire to be lighted by this sun-like eye of love," etc.

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[37] Love songs to God, in Buber, p. 40. There is a related symbolism in Carlyle (Heroes and Hero Worship, p. 280): "The great Fact of Existence is great to him. Fly as he will, he cannot get out of the awful presence of this Reality. His mind is so made; he is great by that, first of all. Fearful and wonderful, real as Life, real as Death, is this Universe to him. Though all men should forget its truth, and walk in a vain show, he cannot. At all moments the Flame-image glares in upon him." One could take any number of examples from literature. For instance, S. Friedländer says in Jugend (1910, p. 829): "Her longing demands only

[38] This image contains the psychological root of the "heavenly wanderings of the soul," an idea that is very old. It is an image of the wandering sun (fig. 9), which from its rising to its setting travels over the world. This comparison has been indelibly imprinted on man's imagination, as is clear from the poem "Grief" of Mathilde von Wesendonck (1828-1902):

The sun, every evening weeping,
Reddens its beautiful eyes for you
When early death seizes you,
Bathing in the mirror of the sea.

Still in its old splendour
The glory rises from the dark world;
You awaken anew in the morning
Like a proud conqueror.

Ah, why then should I lament,
When my heart so heavy sees you?
Must the sun itself despair?
Must the sun set?

And does death alone bear life?
Do griefs alone give joys?
O, how grateful I am that
Such pains have given me nature!

There is another parallel in a poem by Ricarda Huch (1864-1947):

As the earth, separating from the sun,
Withdraws in quick flight into the stormy night,
Starring the naked body with cold snow,
Deafened, it takes away the summer joy,
And sinking deeper in the shadows of winter,
Suddenly draws close to that which it flees,
Sees itself warmly embraced with rosy light,
Leaning against the lost consort.
Thus I went, suffering the punishment of exile,
Away from your countenance, into the ancient place,
Unprotected, turning to the desolate north,
A wave, circling deeper into the sleep of death;
And then would I awake on your heart,
Blinded by the splendour of the dawn.

[Both poems as trans. in the Hinkle edn., 1916.]

The heavenly journey is a special instance of the journeys of the hero, a motif that was continued as the *peregrinatio* in alchemy. The earliest appearance of this motif is probably the heavenly journey of Plato (?) in the Harranite treatise (*Platonis liber quartorum*, in *Theatrum chemicum*, V, p. 145). See also my *Psychology and Alchemy*, par. 457.

created. And I wandered and was sorrowful, and my heart burned, and I raved as one distraught in mind. But it came as it was wont, and descending like a glorious cloud it seemed to envelop my whole head, so that I cried out dismayed. But flying away again it left me alone. And when I wearily sought it, I realized suddenly that it was within me, and in the midst of my heart it shone like the light of a spherical sun.[29]

142 In Nietzsche's "Glory and Eternity" we meet with essentially the same symbolism:

Hush!
I see vastness!
And of vasty things
One should not speak—
Save in vast words! Well then:
Grandiloquize, enchanted wisdom mine!

Look up!
There roll the star-strewn seas,
Night, stillness, deathly silent roar!
Behold, a sign:
Slowly, from endless space
A glittering constellation floats towards me.[30]

143 It is not surprising that Nietzsche's great solitude should have called awake certain images which the old cults had exalted as religious ideas. In the visions of the Mithraic liturgy we move among ideas of a very similar kind, which can now be understood without difficulty as ecstatic libido-symbols:

But after you have said the second prayer, where silence is twice commanded, then whistle twice and click twice with the tongue, and immediately you will see stars coming down from the disc of the sun, five-pointed, in large numbers and filling the whole air. But say once again: Silence! Silence![31]

144 The whistling and clicking with the tongue are archaic devices for attracting the theriomorphic deity. Roaring has a similar significance: "You are to look up at him and give forth a long roar, as with a horn, using all your breath and pressing your sides, then kiss the amulet," etc.[32] My soul roars with the

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[29] Buber, p. 45.
[30] *Werke*, VIII, p. 427.
[31] Dieterich, pp. 8f.
[32] Ibid., p. 13.

voice of a hungry soul," says Mechthild of Magdeburg. "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God" (Psalm 42 : 1). As so often happens, the [illegible] has dwindled to a mere figure of speech. Schizophrenia, however, infuses new life into the old usage, as in the case of the bellowing miracle[33] described by Schreber, which in this way gave God, sadly uninformed about the affairs of humanity, notice of his existence.

135 Silence is commanded, then the vision of light is revealed. The similarity between the situation of the neophyte and Nietzsche's poetic vision is very striking. Nietzsche says "constellation," but constellations, as we know, are mainly theriomorphic or anthropomorphic. The papyrus has ἀστέρας πενταδακτυλιαίους πλείστους (literally, "five-fingered stars," similar to "the rosy-fingered Dawn"), which is a pure anthropomorphic image. Hence, if one looked long enough, one would expect that a living being would form itself out of the very image, a "constellation" in the form of a man or animal—for libido symbols do not stop at sun, light, and fire, but have a whole range of other expressions at their disposal. I leave Nietzsche to speak for himself:

The Beacon

Here, where the island grew amid the seas,
Like a high-towering sacrificial rock,
Here under the darkling heavens
Zarathustra lights his mountain fires . . .

This flame with its grey-white belly
Hisses its desire into the chill distances,
Stretching its neck to ever purer heights—
A snake upreared in impatience:

This emblem I set up before me.
This flame is my own soul
Insatiable for new distances,
Sending upwards its blaze of silent heat . . .

To all the lonely I now throw my fishing-rod:
Give answer to the flame's impatience,
Let me, the fisher on high mountains,
Catch my seventh, last solitude.[34]

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[33] *Memoirs*, pp. 161ff.

[34] From *Ecce Homo* (trans. based on A. M. Ludovici's.

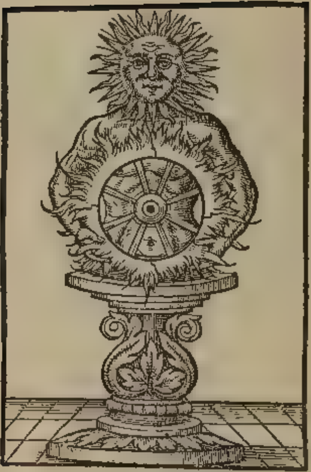

Fig. 4. Germanic sun-idol
From the Sachsisch Chronicon, 1596

146 Here the libido turns into fire, flame, and a snake. The Egyptian symbol of the "living sun-disc"—a disc with the two intertwined Uraeus serpents (pl. VIII)—is a combination of both these libido analogies. And the sun-disc with its fructifying warmth is analogous to the fructifying warmth of love. The comparison of libido with sun and fire is essentially a "comparison by analogy." There is also a "causative" element in it, because

[illegible] Mis [illegible] Neter [illegible] time in the [illegible] and worship [illegible] where. We [illegible]

1 [illegible]

2 [illegible] snake.

For the three fundamental [illegible] there must be [illegible] on. These [illegible] number of gods. We [illegible] such as Amen of Thebes, [illegible] of the East, [illegible] Khnum of Elephantine [illegible] were all [illegible] Ra [illegible] Mehet [illegible] Horus [illegible] Ra [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

the material sun itself which, by the hands of his beams,[38] bestowed upon living things that "fluid of life" which was in him (Fig. 5; cf. also Fig. 7 and pl. II).

148 Amenophis IV achieved, by his reforms, a psychologically valuable work of interpretation. He united all the bull,[39] ram,[40] crocodile,[41] and pile-dwelling[42] gods into the sun-disc, and made it clear that their various attributes were compatible with those of the sun.[43] A similar fate overtook Hellenic and Roman polytheism as a result of the syncretistic strivings of later cen-

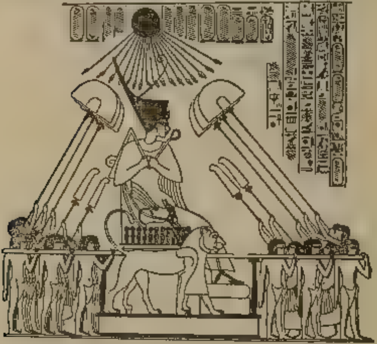

Fig. 5. The life-giving Sun: Amenophis IV on his throne
Relief, Egypt

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[38] Cf. the "fire-fingered" stars mentioned above.

[39] The Apis-bull as manifestation of Ptah.

[40] Amon.

[41] Sobk of the Fayum.

[42] The god of Dedu (Busiris), who was worshipped as a wooden post.

[43] This reformation was initiated with a great deal of fanaticism but soon collapsed.

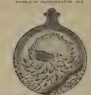
[illegible]

[illegible]

149 [illegible]

[illegible] ambiguity, a masculine and a feminine [illegible]

[illegible] ity but also to the [illegible] Kerner's *Seeress of Prevorst*.



[illegible] transformation
From Barchusen, Elementa chemiae, 1718

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the Egyptian vultures were fertilized by the wind.

early German artist which depicts the Immaculate Conception of Mary in the following manner: a sort of tube or hose-pipe comes down from heaven and passes under the robe of the Virgin, and we can see the Holy Ghost flying down it in the form of a dove to fecundate the Mother of God.[48] (Cf. pl. viii; cf. also pl. iv.)

151 I once came across the following hallucination in a schizophrenic patient: he told me he could see an erect phallus on the sun. When he moved his head from side to side, he said, the sun's phallus moved with it, and that was where the wind came from. This bizarre notion remained unintelligible to me for a long time, until I got to know the visions in the Mithraic liturgy. The hallucination, it seems to me, throws light on a very obscure passage in the text which comes immediately after the one quoted above:

> εἰς δὲ τὰ μέρη τὰ πρὸς λίβα ἀπέραντον οἷον ἀπηλιώτην· ἐὰν ᾖ κεκληρωμένος εἰς τὰ μέρη τοῦ ἀπηλιώτου ὁ ἕτερος, ὁμοίως εἰς τὰ μέρη τὰ ἐκείνου ὄψει τὴν ἀποφορὰν τοῦ ὁράματος.

152 Mead translates as follows:

> And towards the regions Westward, as though it were an infinite East-Wind. But if the other wind, toward the regions of the East, should be in service, in the like fashion shalt thou see, toward the regions of that side, the converse of the sight.[49]

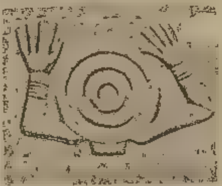


Fig. 7. The Sun's hands

Relief, Spitalkirche, Tübingen

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[48] St. Jerome (*Adversus Jovinianum*, I, 7; Migne, P.L., vol. 23, col. 219) says of Mithras, who was born in a miraculous manner from a rock, that his birth was caused "solo aestu libidinis," by the sheer heat of lust. (Cumont, *Textes*, I, p. 163.)

[49] Mead, *A Mithraic Ritual*, p. 22.

[illegible]

[illegible] in that direction.[29]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[29] Dieterich, p. 7.

[illegible] was in her.

[illegible] "On the Nature of the Psyche," pars. 388ff.

[32] See my "Psychology and Religion," pars. 104f.

similarly, in accordance with the change of meaning, the snake in antiquity became a symbol of the earth, which has always been considered feminine. The bull is a notorious fertility symbol. In the Mithraic liturgy, the bull-gods are called κνωδακοφύλακες, guardians of the world's axis, who turn the axle of the wheel of heaven. The same attribute falls also to Mithras: sometimes he is the Sol invictus itself, sometimes the companion and ruler of Helios (cf. pls. XXIVa, XL); in his right hand he holds "the constellation of the Bear, which moves and turns the heavens round." The bull-headed deities, ἱεροὶ καὶ ἄλκιμοι νεανίαι, sacred and valorous youths like Mithras himself, who is also given the attribute νεώτερος, the younger one, are merely aspects of the same divinity. The chief god of the Mithraic liturgy is himself divided into Mithras and

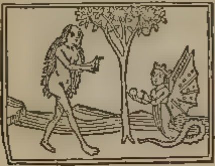

Fig. 8. The Tempting of Eve
From the Speculum humanae salvationis, Augsburg, 1470

Helios (cf. pl. XXIVa), both of whom have closely related attributes. Speaking of Helios the text says:

> You will see a god, young, comely, with glowing locks, in a white tunic and a scarlet cloak, with a fiery crown.[60]

And of Mithras:

> You will see a god of enormous power, with a shining countenance, young, with golden hair, in a white tunic and a golden crown, with

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[60] Dieterich, p. 10: ὄψει θεὸν νεώτερον εὐειδῆ πυρινότριχα ἐν χιτῶνι λευκῷ καὶ χλαμύδι κοκκίνῃ, ἔχοντα πύρινον στέφανον.

[illegible] from his body, stars.[56]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[56] [illegible] ἀλλόμενον.

[57] The Great Bear consists of seven stars.

[58] [illegible] Symbolism in the Mass," pars. 354, 357ff.

[59] στέφανον χρυσοῦν, lit. 'golden wreath.'

[60] [illegible] priapic Punchinello.

[61] [illegible] περιζώματα (aprons?)

[illegible]

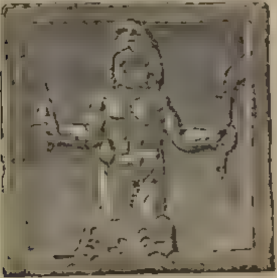

Fig. 9. Mithras with sword and torch
Roman sculpture

[illegible]

These visionary processes are the psychological roots of the sun coronations in the mystery religions (Pl. VIa). The religious experience behind the ritual had congealed into liturgy, but it was a regular enough occurrence to be accepted as a valid outward form. In view of all this it is evident that the early Church stood in a special relationship to Christ as the Sol novus, and on the other hand had some difficulty in shaking off the pagan symbol. Philo Judaeus saw in the sun the image of the divine Logos, or even the deity itself.[84] And in a hymn of St. Ambrose Christ is invoked with the words "O sol salutis," etc. At the time of Marcus Aurelius, Melito, in his treatise Περὶ λουτροῦ, called Christ "The sun of the East. . . . As the only sun he rose in the heavens."[85]

59 Even more explicit is a passage from Pseudo-Cyprian:

> O how wonderful is Providence that Christ should be born on the same day on which the sun was created, the 28th of March. Therefore the prophet Malachi said to the people concerning him: "The Sun of righteousness shall rise, with healing in his wings." This is the Sun of righteousness in whose wings healing was foreshown.[86]

60 In a treatise attributed to St. John Chrysostom, "De solstitiis et aequinoctiis," it is said:

> But the Lord too was born in wintertime, on the eighth of December, when the ripe olives are pressed in order to produce the oil for anointing, the chrism. They also call this day the birthday of the Unconquerable One. Yet who is as unconquerable as our Lord, who overthrew and conquered death itself? As for their calling it the birthday of the Sun, he is the Sun of righteousness of whom the prophet Malachi spoke. He is the Lord of light and darkness,

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[84] De somniis, I, 85.

[85] "Ἥλιος ἀνατολῆς . . . μόνος ἥλιος οὗτος ἀνέτειλεν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ." Cf. Pitra, *Analecta sacra*, II, p. 5, cited in Cumont, *Textes*, I, p. 355.

[86] *De pascha computus*, in Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 4, col. 964. Cited in Usener, *Weihnachtsfest*, p. 5: "O quam praeclara providentia ut in illo die quo factus est sol, in ipso die nasceretur Christus, v. Kal. Apr. feria IV. Et ideo de ipso ad plebem dicebat Malachias propheta: 'Orietur vobis sol iustitiae et curatio est in pennis eius,' hic est sol iustitiae cuius in pennis curatio praeostendebatur." The passage refers to Malachi 4 : 2. But [illegible] name stands the Sun of righteousness [illegible] the winged [illegible] of ancient Egypt. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the fifth century

Woe to those who prostrate themselves [illegible] heretics.[illegible]

[illegible] Augustine [illegible]

[illegible] Not a few traces of sun-worship are preserved in [illegible] saints [illegible]

[illegible] cited in Cumont, p. 356.

[illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] Among [illegible] sun [illegible] One of the most [illegible] of [illegible] pagan [illegible] a book of fables which affords deep

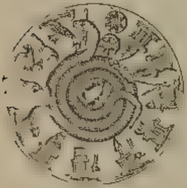

Fig. 10. Serpent representing the orbit of the moon
Assyrian boundary stone, Susa

[illegible] parts of [illegible]

[illegible] The [illegible] the sun [illegible] This image [illegible] of the [illegible] course of the moon [illegible] snake [illegible] signs of the [illegible] passage [illegible] Codex [illegible] serpent [illegible]

Wirth, ed., *Aus orientalischen Chroniken*, p. [illegible]

[illegible] per."[78]

[illegible]

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[78] Abeghian, *Der armenische Volksglaube*, p. 13

[illegible]

is readily explained by his desire to stand aside so as not to get involved in the dangerous struggle for existence. But anyone who refuses to experience life must stifle his desire to live—in other words, he must commit partial suicide. This explains the death-fantasies that usually accompany the renunciation of desire. Miss Miller had already given vent to these fantasies in her poem, and she now comments:

> I had been reading a selection of Byron's poems that pleased me greatly and that I often dipped into. Moreover, there is a great similarity of rhythm between my two last lines, "For I, the source, etc." and these two of Byron's:
>
> Now, let me die as I have lived in faith,
> Nor tremble though the Universe should quake!

166 This reminiscence, the last link in her chain of associations, corroborates the death-fantasies born of renunciation. The quotation comes—a point not mentioned by Miss Miller—from an unfinished poem of Byron's called "Heaven and Earth." The passage reads:

> Still blessed be the Lord,
> For what is past,
> For that which is:
> For all are his,
> From first to last—
> Time, space, eternity, life, death—
> The vast known and immeasurable unknown.
> He made, and can unmake;
> And shall I, for a little gasp of breath,
> Blaspheme and groan?
> No; let me die, as I have lived, in faith,
> Nor quiver, though the universe may quake![70]

167 These words form part of a panegyric or prayer spoken by a "mortal" who is in headlong flight before the oncoming Deluge. Quoting them, Miss Miller puts herself in a similar situation: she hints that her own feelings are very like the hopeless despair of the unfortunates who saw themselves threatened by the rising waters. She thus allows us to peer into the dark abyss of her longing for the sun-hero. We see that her longing is in vain, for she too is a mortal, momentarily upborne on the wings of her

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[70] *Works*, p. 559.

longing into the [illegible] and then sinking down to death [illegible] should we perhaps say: directed by [illegible] higher [illegible] desperate [illegible] of the closing scene in *Cyrano de Bergerac*:

CYRANO: But since Death comes,
I meet him still afoot, and sword in hand.
What say you? It is useless? Ay, I know!
But who fights ever hoping for success?
I fought for lost cause, and for fruitless quest!
I know that you will lay me low at last.[66]

168 Her [illegible] longing [illegible] directed towards the Divine [illegible] worshipped as the [illegible] makes it clear that there is no question of any conscious decision or choice on her part; it is [illegible] that she is confronted against her will and understanding with the overpowering fact that a divine hero has stepped into the shoes of the [illegible]. Whether this betokens a good thing or a bad remains to be seen.

169 Byron's "Heaven and Earth" is a mystery founded on the following passage in Genesis: "And it came to pass . . . that the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose."[67] Besides this, Byron used as a motto for his poem the following words from Coleridge: "And woman wailing for her demon lover."[68] The poem is composed of [illegible] the other telluric: a passion that breaks down all barriers, and the terrors of the unleashed forces of Nature. The angels Samiasa and Azaziel burn with sinful love for the beautiful daughters of Cain, Anah and Aholibamah, and thus break through the barrier between mortals and immortals. Like Lucifer, they rebel against God, and the archangel Raphael raises his voice in warning:

But man hath listen'd to his voice,
And ye to woman's—beautiful she is,

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[66] Trans. by Thomas and Guillemard, [illegible]

[67] Genesis 6 : 2.

[68] Cf. Kubla Khan, *Poems*, p. [illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

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[85] Byron, p. 556.

[illegible]

"Down on the strand, down on the shore,
A maiden washed the kerchief of her lover . . .
And a soft west wind came sighing over the shore,
And lifted her skirt a little with its breath
So that a little of her ankles could be seen,
And the seashore grew bright as all the world."

[illegible]

"In Gymir's farm I saw
A lovely maid coming towards me
With the glory of her arm glowed
The sky and all the everlasting sea."

[illegible]

[illegible] the Devil. Raphael's [illegible] over [illegible] Samiasa and Azaziel suggests as much

Why
Cannot this earth be made, or be destroy'd,
Without involving ever some vast void
In the immortal ranks?

171 Pass[illegible] but also above [illegible] expressed [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] more [illegible] continues [illegible] passion [illegible] seems to be raising [illegible] of gods and men [illegible] impassioned [illegible]

Anah:[57] Seraph!
From thy sphere!
Whatever star[58] contain thy glory;
In the eternal depths of heaven
Albeit thou watchest with "the seven,"
Though through space infinite and hoary
Before thy bright wings worlds be driven,
Yet hear!

---

[56] Cf. the mythological [illegible] who [illegible]

[57] Anah [illegible] the seraph

[58] The [illegible] a star [illegible] "mutating stars," par. [illegible] above.

Oh! think of her who holds thee dear!
And though she nothing is to thee,
Yet think that thou art all to her. . . .

Eternity is in thine ears,
Unborn, undying beauty in thine eyes;
With me thou canst not sympathize,
Except in love, and there thou must
Acknowledge that more loving dust
Ne'er wept beneath the skies.
Thou walk'st thy many worlds,[89] thou see'st
The face of him who made thee great,
As he hath made of me the least
Of those cast out from Eden's gate;
Yet, Seraph dear!
    Oh hear!
For thou hast loved me, and I would not die
Until I know what I must die in knowing,
That thou forget'st in thine eternity
Her whose heart death could not keep from o'erflowing
For thee, immortal essence as thou art!
Great is their love who love in sin and fear;
And such, I feel, are waging in my heart
A war unworthy: to an Adamite
Forgive, my Seraph! that such thoughts appear,
For sorrow is our element. . . .

    The hour is near
Which tells me we are not abandon'd quite.
    Appear! Appear!
    Seraph!
My own Azaziel! be but here,
And leave the stars to their own light.

AHOLIBAMAH: I call thee, I await thee, and I love thee.
Though I be form'd of clay,
And thou of beams
More bright than those of day
On Eden's streams,
Thine immortality cannot repay
With love more warm than mine
My love. There is a ray[90]

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[89] This is an attribute of the "wandering sun."
[90] The light substance of her own psyche.

In me which, though forbidden yet to shine,
I feel was lighted at thy God's and thine.[9]
It may be hidden long: death and decay
Our mother Eve bequeathed us—but my heart
Defies it: though this life must pass away,
Is *that* a cause for thee and me to part?

I can share all things, even immortal sorrow;
For thou hast ventured to share life with *me*,
And shall I shrink from thine eternity?
No! though the serpent's sting should pierce me thorough,
And thou thyself wert like the serpent, coil
Around me still![10] and I will smile,
And curse thee not; but hold
Thee in as warm a fold
. . . descend, and prove
A mortal's love
For an immortal.

170 The apparition of both angels which follows the invocation is, as always, a glorious vision of light:

AHOLIBAMAH: The clouds from off their pinions flinging,
As though they bore tomorrow's light.

ANAH: But if our father see the sight!

AHOLIBAMAH: He would but deem it was the moon
Rising unto some sorcerer's tune
An hour too soon.

ANAH: Lo! they have kindled all the west,
Like a returning sunset; lo!
On Ararat's late secret crest
A mild and many-colour'd bow,
The remnant of their flashing path
Now shines!

175 At the sight of this rainbow-hued vision both women are filled with longing and expectation, and Anah makes use of a

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[9] The bringing together of the two highest substances shows their common origin: they are light images. A striking parallel is Mechthild of Magdeburg's *Das fliessende Licht der Gottheit*: the soul is compounded of "Minne" (love).

[10] Cf. the paintings by Stuck, "Sin," "Vice," and "Sensuality," where a woman's naked body is encircled by a huge snake. At bottom it portrays the fear of death.

pregnant simile. Once more the abyss opens, and we catch a brief but terrifying glimpse of the theriomorphic nature of the mild god of Light:

> and now, behold! it hath
> Return'd to night, as rippling foam,
> Which the leviathan hath lash'd
> From his unfathomable home,
> When sporting on the face of the calm deep,
> Subsides soon after he again hath dash'd
> Down, down, to where the ocean's fountains sleep.

174 Leviathan, we remember, is the prize exhibit that tips the scales of Yahweh's justice so heavily against Job. There, where the deep fountains of the ocean are, dwells Leviathan; from there the all-destroying flood ascends, the tidal wave of animal passion. The choking, heart-constricting surge of instinct is projected outwards as a mounting flood to destroy everything that exists, so that a new and better world may arise from the ruins of the old.

> JAPHET: The eternal Will
> Shall deign to expound this dream
> Of good and evil, and redeem
> Unto himself all times, all things,
> And gather'd under his almighty wings,
> Abolish hell!
> And to the expiated Earth
> Restore the beauty of her birth. . . .
>
> SPIRITS: And when shall take effect this wondrous spell?
>
> JAPHET: When the Redeemer cometh; first in pain,
> And then in glory. . . .
>
> SPIRITS: New times, new climes, new arts, new men, but still
> The same old tears, old crimes, and oldest ill,
> Shall be amongst your race in different forms;
> But the same moral storms
> Shall oversweep the future, as the waves
> In a few hours the glorious giants' graves.[68]

175 Japhet's prognostications have an almost prophetic meaning for our poetess and must therefore be understood on the sub-

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[68] Byron, p. 551.

jective level.[84] With the death of the moth in the light the danger has been removed for the time being, though the problem is still far from solved. The conflict must begin again from the beginning; but this time there is a promise in the air, a premonition that the redeemer, the "well-beloved," who mounts to the zenith with the sun and then sinks again into night and the cold darkness of winter, the young dying god, who has ever been our hope of renewal and of the world to come.

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[84] interpretation of the products of the unconscious. For instance, a person in a dream has a double aspect: what that person means in himself (the "objective level") and what he means as a projection ("subjective level"). Cf. "On the Psychology of the Unconscious," *Two Essays*, par. 130.

II

I

INTRODUCTION

[illegible]

[illegible]

just a matter of words can be seen from the teachings of the mystics: when they descend into the depths of their own being they find "in their heart" the image of the sun, they find their own life-force which they call the "sun" for a legitimate and, I would say, a *physical* reason, because our source of energy and life actually is the sun. Our physiological life, regarded as an energy process, is entirely solar. The peculiar nature of this solar energy as inwardly perceived by the mystic is made clear in Indian mythology. The following passages, referring to Rudra,[2] are taken from the Shvetashvatara Upanishad:

> There is one Rudra only, they do not allow a second, who rules all the worlds by his powers. Behind all creatures he stands, the Protector; having created them, he gathers all beings together at the end of time.
>
> He has eyes on all sides, faces on all sides, arms on all sides, feet on all sides. He is the one God who created heaven and earth, forging all things together with his hands and wings.
>
> You who are the source and origin of the gods, the ruler of all, Rudra, the great seer, who of old gave birth to the Golden Seed—give us enlightenment.[3]

175 Behind these attributes we can discern the All-Creator, and behind him the sun, who is winged and scans the world with a thousand eyes.[4] (Cf. fig. 11.) This is confirmed by the following passages, which bring out the important point that God is contained in the individual creature:

> Beyond this is Brahma, the highest, hidden in the bodies of all, encompassing all. Those who know him as the Lord become immortal.

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[2] Rudra, properly "the father of the Maruts (winds)," a wind- or storm-god, appears here as the sole creator-god, as the text shows. The role of creator and fertilizer naturally falls to him as a wind-god. (Cf. my comments on Anaxagoras in pars. 65 and 76 above.)

[3] Trans. of this and the following passages (Shvet. Up. 3, 2-4, 7, 8, [illegible] 13-15) based on Hume, *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, pp. 399 ff., and Max Müller, *The Upanishads*, II, pp. 244 ff.

[4] Similarly the Egyptian sun-god [illegible] is equipped with an immense number of eyes. It is possible that Loyola's vision of the snake with multiple eyes is a variant of this motif. See my "On the Nature of the Psyche," par. 395.

I know this mighty Person (puruṣa), who is like to the sun and transcendent over darkness. Those who know him thus pass beyond death; by no other road can they go.

He is the face, the head, the neck of all; he dwells in the heart of all things, all-pervading, bountiful, omnipresent, kindly.

58 The dual power of God, who is like to the sun, is in every one of us, and whoever knows this is immortal.[8] Following the

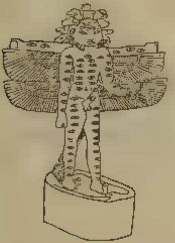

Fig. 11. Bes, with Horus-eyes
Bronze figure, Egypt, c. 6th century B.C.

text, we come now to other attributes which tell us in what form Rudra dwells in man.

A mighty Lord is Puruṣa, spurring on the highest in us to purest attainment, inexhaustible Light.

That Person, no bigger than a thumb, the inner Self, seated for ever in the heart of man, is revealed by the heart, the thought, the mind. They who know That become immortal.

Thousand-headed is Puruṣa, thousand-eyed, thousand-footed is Puruṣa. He encompasses the earth on every side and rules over the ten-finger space.

This Person is this whole world, whatever has been and what will be. He is Lord of immortality; he is whatever grows by food.

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[8] Whoever has God, the sun, in himself is immortal like the sun. Cf. Part I, ch. 5, above.

[illegible] the same today as tomorrow, that is Self.[4]

[illegible] and Cabiri have a [illegible] fantasies [illegible] in every [illegible] they be taken literally [illegible] always have a [illegible] meaning [illegible] darkness begets a [illegible] key [illegible] One thinks [illegible] in *Faust*:

Mephistopheles: Congr[illegible] before you part from me!
You know [illegible] that is plain to see
Here, take this key

Faust: That little thing. But why?

Mephistopheles: [illegible]

[4] [illegible] —Trans.]

FAUST: It grows, it shines, increases in my hand![7]

MEPHISTOPHELES: How great its worth, you soon shall understand.
The key will smell the right place from all others:
Follow it down, it leads you to the Mothers![8]

180 Here the devil again puts into Faust's hand the marvellous tool, as once before when, in the form of the black dog, he introduced himself to Faust as:

Part of that power which would
Ever work evil, but engenders good.[9]

181 What he is describing here is the libido, which is not only creative and procreative, but possesses an intuitive faculty, a

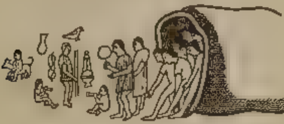

Fig. 11. The birth-giving orifice
From a Mexican lienzo

strange power to "smell the right place," almost as if it were a live creature with an independent life of its own (which is why it is so easily personified). It is purposive, like sexuality itself, a favourite object of comparison. The "realm of the Mothers" has not a few connections with the womb (fig. 11), with the matrix, which frequently symbolizes the creative aspect of the unconscious. This libido is a force of nature, good and bad at once, or morally neutral. Uniting himself with it, Faust succeeds in accomplishing his real life's work, at first with evil results and then for the benefit of mankind. In the realm of the Mothers he finds the tripod, the Hermetic vessel in which the "royal marriage" is consummated. But he needs the phallic

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[7] The light symbolism in the etymology of φαλλός is discussed in pars. 321f., below.

[8] *Faust*, Part II, trans. based on MacNeice, p. 177.

[9] Ibid., Part I, trans. by Wayne, p. 75, modified.

[illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] he sees. [illegible] Persian [illegible] Man.

[illegible]

183 [illegible] creative [illegible], Hermes [illegible] example [illegible] Mani [illegible] Mani [illegible] crippled feet. The foot [illegible] possess a magical generative power. The [illegible] Melampus [illegible] also [illegible] Hermes. [illegible] Herodotus was [illegible] Persians. [illegible] were called [illegible]

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[10] *Psychology and Alchemy*, index, s.v. "coniunctio." For a psychological account of the problem, see my "Psychology of the Transference."

[11] [illegible]

[12] [illegible]

[13] [illegible] Mysteries of [illegible]

[illegible]

84 [illegible] Dionysus [illegible]

[illegible] the Greek [illegible]

[illegible] known as Idaean dactyls.

[illegible] the Laconian coast and at Pephnos.

[illegible] "she who brings forth [illegible]

---

itself particularly well to this assimilation. One might also call it the cult of the big and little man. Now Dionysus, under his various aspects, is a god in whose cult the phallus occupied a prominent position, as for instance in the worship of the Argive Bull-Dionysus. Moreover the phallic herm of the god gave rise to a personification of the phallus of Dionysus in the form of the god Phales, who was nothing but a Priapus. He was called ἑταῖρος or σύγκωμος Βάκχου.[21] The paradox of great and small, giant and dwarf in the Upanishadic text is expressed less drastically here as man and boy, or father and son. The motif of deformity (cf. fig. 14), which constantly appears in the Cabiric cult, is also present in the vase-painting, where the parallel figures to Dionysus and Παῖς are the caricatured Μίτος and Πρατόλαος.[22] Just as formerly the difference in size led to their separation, so now they are separated by deformity.

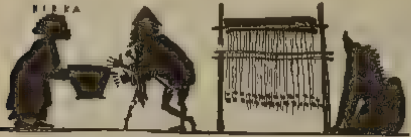

Fig. 15. Odysseus as a Cabiric dwarf, with Circe
From a bowl by the Cabiri Painter (?), c. 400 B.C.

185 All this goes to show that though the term "libido," introduced by Freud, is not without a sexual connotation,[23] an exclu-

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[21] "Companion and fellow reveller of Bacchus." Roscher, s.v. "Phales."

[22] Illustrated in Kerényi, "The Mysteries of the Kabeiroi," fig. 1 (and our fig. 14).

[23] Freud, in his "Notes on a Case of Paranoia," pp. 78f., which appeared simultaneously with Part I of this book (1st [1911] edition), makes an observation that closely parallels my own remarks concerning the "libido theory" based on the fantasies of the insane Schreber. "Schreber's 'rays of God,' which are made up of a condensation of the sun's rays, of nerve-fibres, and of spermatozoa, are in reality nothing else than a concrete representation and projection outwards of libidinal cathexes, and they thus lend his delusions a striking conformity with our theory. His belief that the world must come to an end because his ego was

sively sexual definition of this concept is one-sided and must therefore be rejected. Appetite and compulsion are the specific features of all impulses and automatisms. No more than the sexual metaphors of common speech can the corresponding analogies in instinctual processes, and the symptoms and dreams to which they give rise, be taken literally. The sexual theory of psychic automatisms is an untenable prejudice. The very fact that it is impossible to derive the whole mass of psychic phenomena from a single instinct forbids a one-sided definition of "libido." I use this term in the general sense in which it was understood by the classical authors. Cicero gives it a very wide meaning:

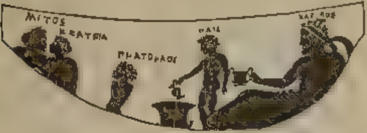

Fig. 14. The banquet of the Cabiri
From a bowl by the Cabiri Painter, c. 435 B.C.

> They hold that from two kinds of expected good arise desire and delight, in the sense that delight is concerned with present good, and desire with future good . . . since desire, being tempted and inflamed, is carried away towards what seems good. . . . For all men naturally pursue those things that seem good and shun their opposites. Wherefore, as soon as anything presents itself that seems good, nature herself impels them to obtain it. If this is done with moderation and prudence, the Stoics call that kind of striving *boulesis*, and we call it *will*. In their opinion this is found only in the wise man, and they define it as follows: Will is a rational desire, but when it is

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attracting all the rays to itself; his anxious concern at a later period, during the process of reconstruction, lest God should sever his ray-connection with him—these and many other details of Schreber's delusional formation sound almost like endopsychic perceptions of the processes whose existence I have assumed in these pages as the basis of our explanation of paranoia."

[illegible]

[illegible] term for all desire" and says

> [illegible]

[illegible] iter prudenterque [illegible] Stoici βούλησιν appellant, nos appellemus voluntatem, [illegible] at in solo esse sapiente, quam sic definiunt: voluntas est quae quid [illegible] est vehementius, ea [illegible] venitur

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[illegible]

[27] *Letter to Caesar*, XIII trans. ibid., pp. 488-89

[illegible]

187 For him libido denotes an appetite like hunger and thirst, and so far as sexuality is concerned he says: "Pleasure is preceded by an appetite that is felt in the flesh, a kind of desire like hunger and thirst."[80] This very wide use of the term in the classics coincides with the etymological context:

188 *Libido* or *lubido* (with *libet*, formerly *lubet*), 'it pleases'; *libens* or *lubens*, 'gladly, willingly'; Skr. *lubhyati*, 'to experience violent longing,' *lôbhayati*, 'excites longing,' *lubdha-h*, 'eager'; *lôbha-h*, 'longing, eagerness'; Goth. *liufs*, OHG. *liob*, 'love.' Also associated with Goth. *lubains*, 'hope,' and OHG. *lobôn*, *lob*, 'praise, glory'; OBulg. *ljubiti*, 'to love,' *ljuby*, 'love'; Lith. *liáupsinti*, 'to praise.'[81]

189 We can say, then, that the concept of libido in psychology has functionally the same significance as the concept of energy in physics since the time of Robert Mayer.[82]

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vicacia; est libido gloriandi, quae iactantia nuncupatur. Sunt multae variaeque libidines, quarum nonnullae habent etiam vocabula propria, quaedam vero non habent. Quis enim facile dixerit quid vocetur libido dominandi, quam tamen plurimum valere in tyrannorum animis, etiam civilia bella testantur?)

[80] Ibid. (Voluptatem igitur praecedit appetitus quidam, qui sentitur in carne quasi cupiditas eius, sicut fames et sitis.)

[81] Walde, *Wörterbuch*, p. 426, s.v. *libet*. *Liberi*, 'children,' is grouped with *libet* by Nazari (p. 573). If this is correct, then Liber, the ancient Italian god of procreation, who is now certainly connected with *liberi*, would also be related to *libet*. Libitina, the goddess of the dead, is supposed to have nothing to do with Lubentina or Lubentia (an attribute of Venus), which is related to *libet*. The name is as yet unexplained.

[82] See my "On Psychic Energy," par. 57.

II

THE CONCEPT OF LIBIDO

[illegible] Freud [illegible] as [illegible] Thus [illegible] sexual [illegible] explain [illegible] sex as [illegible] whose [illegible] sexual [illegible] functions.[illegible]

[illegible] "Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality," pp. 135ff.

[illegible] Beneke [illegible] primacy of the instincts.

[illegible] removed the "hunger affix."

[illegible]

[illegible] word for word, runs.

[illegible]

[illegible]

being aggravated [illegible] hopes he [illegible] them must still remain unfulfilled.[6]

191 Nevertheless Freud [illegible] in the paranoid [illegible] explain [illegible] by the recession of sexual libido. He says:

> It therefore appears to me far more probable that the altered [illegible] entirely or in the main by the loss of his libidinal interest.[7]

192 In this passage Freud broaches the question of whether the well-known loss of reality in paranoia (and schizophrenia),[8] to which I have drawn attention in my *Psychology of Dementia Praecox*,[9] is to be traced back solely to the recession of the libidinal [illegible] with what is commonly called objective interest. It can hardly be supposed that the normal "fonction du réel"[10] is often sustained only by affluxes of libido or erotic interest. The fact is that in very many cases reality disappears entirely, so that not a trace of psychological adaptation can be found. In these states reality has been buried under the contents of the unconscious. One is therefore compelled to say that not only the erotic interest, but all interest whatsoever, has disappeared except for a few feeble flickers, and with it the whole relation to reality. If the libido were really nothing but sexuality, what would happen in the case of eunuchs? In their case it is precisely the "libidinal" interest in the sexual sense that has been cut off, but they do not necessarily react with schizophrenia. The term "libido," [illegible] something that is [illegible] questionable. Many apparently sexual contents and processes are mere metaphors and analogies, as for instance fire = passion, heat = anger, marriage = a bond or union, etc. Presumably no one imagines that all plumbers who connect up male and female pipe-joints, or all electricians who work with

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[6] "Notes on a Case of Paranoia," pp. 75ff.

[7] Ibid., p. 75.

[8] Schreber's case, which Freud is here discussing, is not a pure paranoia. See Schreber, *Memoirs of My Nervous Illness.*

[9] [illegible] Also see "The Content of the Psychoses."

[10] [illegible] "The Psychology of Dementia Praecox," [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] non of energy.

[illegible] says: "The Will [illegible] eign to the Will itself." [12]

[illegible]

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[13] *Theogony*, 116. [14] Cf. Roscher, *Lexicon* [illegible]

[illegible] Holy Ghost.

[illegible]

[illegible] ws. Pistis, p. 107. 10 Ibid., p. 96. 11 Ibid., p. 19

[illegible]

[21] Drews, p. 141

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[38] Cf. Spielrein, [illegible] p. 329.

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[23] [illegible]

[24] Spielrein, pp. 338, 353, 387. See par. [illegible] n. 41, below, for soma as "seminal fluid."

[25] [illegible]

[26] Spielrein, p. 345. [27] Ibid., p. 338

[28] Ib[illegible]

[illegible] expresses [illegible] and the resultant [illegible] have a similar significance when she says:

[illegible]

[illegible] If, for instance, we substitute [illegible] energy-value [illegible] views fall into line with my own.

[illegible] [illegible] analyses [illegible] We are [illegible] the most [illegible]

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30 Spielrein, p. 399.

III

THE TRANSFORMATION OF LIBIDO

[illegible]

[illegible] of coitus movements.

keep [illegible] was a complete [illegible] So it is [illegible] the preliminary [illegible]

205 The boring [illegible] very early [illegible] masturbation [illegible] cause [illegible] We know [illegible] was as always [illegible] masturbating.

206 We [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] traces.

[illegible]

---

2 *Dreams and Myths* [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] K. Bapp, in Roscher, *Lexikon*, III 3034

[illegible] Balinese. (Pl. xiiia.)

[illegible] See Roscher, III [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] sion.

For some time it was [illegible] Prometheus [illegible] the fire-bringing [illegible] προμηθεύς [illegible] [illegible] primordial images.

210 [illegible] and are [illegible] known as [illegible] and, [illegible] personified are [illegible] [illegible]

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ing to Dioscorides (III, 54) mint is a [illegible] (cf. Aigremont, *Volkserotik*, I, p. 127). But the ancients also said: [illegible] quod sua odore [illegible] cause [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] in the [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] a feminine [illegible] [illegible] Kuhn, *Mythologische Studien*, I, p. [illegible]

A sacrificial fire is kindled by rubbing two fire-sticks together. One of the fire-sticks is taken up with the words: "Thou art the birthplace of fire," and two blades of grass are placed upon it: "Ye are the two testicles." The priest then places on them the *adharârani* (the underlying piece of wood), saying: "Thou art Urvasi," and anoints the *uttarârani* (uppermost piece) with butter: "Thou art the power (semen)." This is then placed on the *adharârani* with the words: "Thou art Pururavas." Rubbing them together three times, the priest says: "I rub thee with the Gayatrimetrum: I rub thee with the Trishtubhmetrum: I rub thee with the Jagatimetrum."[13]

210 The sexual symbolism is unmistakable. We find the same idea and symbolism in a hymn of the Rig-Veda:

Here is the gear for friction, here tinder made ready for the spark.
Bring thou the mistress of the people:[14] we will rub Agni in ancient fashion forth.
In the two fire-sticks lies Jatavedas, safe as the seed in pregnant women.
Daily let Agni be praised by men who watch and worship with oblations.
Let this staff enter into her as she lies there outstretched, O you skilled ones;
Straightway she conceives, has given birth to the fructifier.
With his red pillar lighting his path, the son of Ila is born from the precious wood.[15]

211 It is to be noted that in this hymn the *pramantha* is also Agni, the begotten son: the phallus is the son, or the son is the phallus. In colloquial German today there are distant echoes of

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nection between G. *bohren*, 'to bore,' and *geboren*, 'born,' is very unlikely. According to him, G. *boren* (*bohren*) is primarily related to Lat. *forare* and Gr. φαρόω, 'to plough.' He conjectures an Indo-European root *bher-*, meaning 'to bear' (Skr. *bhar-*, Gr. φερ-, Lat. *fer-*, whence OHG *beran*, 'to bear,' Lat. *fero*, *fertilis*, and *fordus*, 'pregnant,' Gr. φορός, 'pregnant.' Walde (*Lateinisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. *ferio*), however, definitely relates *forare* to the root *bher-*. Cf. the plough symbolism, below, par. 214, n. 22, and fig. 15.

[13] Weber, *Indische Studien*, I, p. 197, cited in Kuhn, p. [illegible]

[14] Or 'mankind' in general. *Vispatni* is the feminine fire-stick, *vispati* an attribute of Agni, the masculine.

[15] Rig-Veda III, 29, 1–3, trans. based on Griffith, II, p. 29. For wood as a mother symbol, see Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, p. 355. The son of Ila: Ila was the daughter of Manu, the Indian Noah, who with the help of his fish survived the deluge and then begat a new race of human beings with his daughter

This primitive [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] *Re*[illegible] child [illegible] edge [illegible] Hesse [illegible] as [illegible] or *Bohemian* [illegible] The plant *Artemisia* [illegible] called in German [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] The [illegible] designation of the penis as [illegible] was remarked even by the brothers Grimm. [illegible] ceremonial fire-making [illegible] general on [illegible] peasants [illegible] well into the nineteenth century. [illegible] the [illegible] case which occurred in Germany in 1828. This magical [illegible] need-fire ceremony was called the "Nodfyr" [illegible] and the ceremony was used mainly against cattle epidemics. [illegible] from the Chronicle of Lanercost [illegible] the year 1268 a particularly interesting case of "Nodfyr," which plainly reveals the sexual symbolism of the ceremonies.

In order to safeguard the integrity of the faith, let the reader remember that when the herds of cattle in Lothian were ravaged this year by the pest called lung-sickness, certain cattle-breeders, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] taught the ignorant rustics to make fire by rubbing [illegible] [illegible] and to set up an image of Priapus [illegible] [illegible] to the [illegible] animals. A lay Cistercian [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] from [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] dipped [illegible] and sprinkled the animals with it.[18]

249 These examples, coming from different periods of history and from different peoples, [illegible] [illegible] tendency [illegible] fire-making with sex[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] or magical repetition of this age-old [illegible] [illegible] persistently the human mind [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] is the [illegible] of fire-making [illegible] [illegible] inclined [illegible]

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[16] Cf. Hirt, *Etymologie*, p. 348.

[17] The [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] expressly [illegible] sacrilegus [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] which are [illegible] [illegible] Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, I, p. 603ff., where the [illegible] ceremonies are described.

[18] *Mythologische Studien*, I, p. 43. "Pro fidei [illegible] integritate [illegible] lector quod cum hoc anno in Laodonia pestis [illegible] grassaretur [illegible] [illegible] quidam bestiales, habitu claustrales non animo, docebant idiotas patriae ignem [illegible] et simulacrum Priapi statuere, et per haec bestiis succurrere. Quod cum unus laicus Cisterciensis apud Fentone fecisset ante atrium aulae, ac testiculos canis in aquam benedictam intinxisset, [illegible] tam super animalia sparsisset."

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Cf. Schultze, *Psychologie der Naturvölker*, pp. 161f.

[illegible]

spear the man. The *hieros gamos* was an essential component [illegible] and played an important part in various sects.

215 One can easily imagine that, just as the Australian bushmen perform a sort of *hieros gamos* with the earth, so the same or a similar idea could be represented by producing fire from two pieces of wood. The ritual coitus is enacted, not by two people, but by two [illegible] the male and female fire-sticks. (Cf. pl. [illegible])

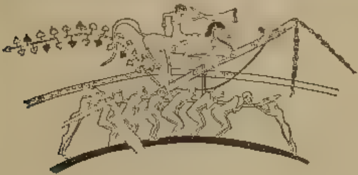

Fig. 15. The phallic plough
From a Greek vase

216 Of all the components of the psyche, sex is undoubtedly the one which [illegible] the strongest after [illegible]. Certain persons are therefore inclined to assume that everything which bears an analogy to sex must of necessity be derived from it, on the

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only in the Germanic languages. From *wohnen* comes *gewöhnen*, 'to get accustomed to [illegible]. From [illegible] again, comes such [illegible] *plagen*, 'to take trouble, [illegible] to work.' OHG. [illegible] to toil or drudge [illegible] to suffer [illegible]. On the other hand, from [illegible] comes [illegible] 'to wound.' [illegible] the original sense therefore [illegible] the ground [illegible] hoeing [illegible] come *schlagen* [illegible] OHG. [illegible] Old Saxon winnan, to battle. (Fig. 18.)

22 The [illegible] custom [illegible] in the field to make the field fruitful expressed the analogy in the clearest possible way, as I make this woman [illegible] so [illegible] make the earth fruitful. The symbol canalizes the libido into cultivating and [illegible] the earth. Cf. pl. [illegible] Cf. [illegible] *Wald- und Feldkulte*, I, for exhaustive evidence.

hypothesis that the sexual libido comes up against some sort of barrier which compels it to seek a substitute activity in the form of a ritual analogy. In order to account for the partial conversion and transformation of libido, Freud assumed that the barrier was the *incest-taboo*. Strictly speaking, however, the incest-taboo is a check on the endogamous tendency in man. For an instinct to be forcibly converted into something else, or even partially checked, there must be a correspondingly higher energy on the opposite side. Freud rightly supposed that this energy came from *fear* and, in order to explain the fear, he had to resort to the more or less plausible hypothesis of the primal horde which, like a herd of gorillas, was tyrannized over by a ferocious patriarch. To complete the picture, we would have to add an equally awe-inspiring matron who instils fear into the daughters, just as the primordial father compels the savage respect of the sons. We would then have a patrilineal and a matrilineal source of anxiety to match the primitive conditions. I can well imagine that the more neurotic among the troglodytes "thought" in this manner.

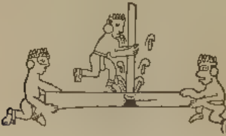

Fig. 16. The twirling-stick
From an Aztec hieroglyph painting

Such a derivation of the motive for checking the instincts seems to me somewhat doubtful, to say the least, for the simple reason that the tensions inside a primitive group are never greater than those involved in the struggle for existence of the group as a whole. Were it otherwise, the group would speedily perish. What does constitute a serious threat to the primitive group is the endogamous tendency, which has to be checked in order to exorcize the danger. The best means to this end seems to be the widespread custom of cross-cousin-mar-

[illegible]

stone.[26]

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[24] *Südamerikanische Felszeichnungen*, p. 17.

[25] Teixeira de Mattos trans., p. 100.

[26] P. 571.

[illegible] covered in this way.

[illegible]

[illegible]

affect originated in sexuality

221 [illegible]

---

56 Eberschweiler [illegible] Assoziation."

[illegible] into the bargain

[illegible]

[illegible]

with an internal resistance [illegible] as the biological urge

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] See pp. [illegible]ff., above [illegible] tion (1906).32

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] pars. 10ff.

[illegible]

changed from [illegible] its purposes for [illegible] have the character [illegible] sexual [illegible] at a [illegible] stage. In the same way [illegible] analogy of the sexual act [illegible] analogy [illegible] analogy for all [illegible] future stage [illegible] the libido [illegible] numerous possibilities of application [illegible] the libido has arrived [illegible] magical [illegible] infused with a variety of possible applications. Since in the West [illegible] many [illegible] will carry at least part [illegible] as an essential characteristic. The result is that a presexual object is invested, and takes the place of the one thrust into the background. The ideal example [illegible] presexual [illegible] of [illegible] Here [illegible] as the goal of desire [illegible] as a symbol of sex [illegible] given [illegible] nourishment.

227 It is just possible that we are here [illegible] some sort of regression to the presexual stage, where the [illegible] of [illegible] regression [illegible] being [illegible] adult [illegible]

[illegible] Known as [illegible] von Hartmann, *Die Weltanschauung der modernen Physik*, p. 3.

[illegible] life may have [illegible] converted as [illegible] expression [illegible] a [illegible] analogous [illegible] boring [illegible] real [illegible] these first exercises [illegible] have been preserved. I have succeeded in finding a passage in a monument of [illegible] literature which [illegible] fire making. It occurs in the [illegible][33]

He (Atman)[34] was as big as a man and woman joined together; he [illegible] into two, and thence [illegible] and wife were born.[35] He [illegible] her, and thus men were born.

She thought: [illegible] he [illegible] me after having produced me [illegible] I will hide myself. She became a cow, he became a [illegible]; they [illegible] were born. She became a mare, he a stallion; she became a she-ass, he an ass. They united and the hoofed animals were born. She became a she-goat, he a goat; she became a ewe, he a ram. They paired and goats and sheep were born. Thus he created everything [illegible] down to the ants, male and female.

Then he knew: I am this creation, for I produced it all from myself. Such was creation. He who possesses this knowledge creates his own being in that creation.

Thereupon he rubbed, thus holding his hands before his mouth. From his mouth, the fire-hole, and from his hands he brought forth fire.[36]

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[33] Since I am [illegible] the chronology of the Vedic writings and [illegible] the [illegible] part of the teachings. The Vedic writings are mostly of [illegible] age and since for a long time they were handed down orally, they may date back to the very remote past.

[34] The primordial universal being, a concept which in psychological terms coincides with that of the libido.

[35] [illegible] man [illegible] as [illegible] hermaphroditic. The world was created by desire [illegible] is the beginning [illegible] was [illegible] He [illegible] saw nothing [illegible] He [illegible] afraid [illegible] alone is afraid. He [illegible] Why should I be afraid, since there is nothing but myself? [illegible] He had [illegible] one who is alone has no [illegible] He desired a second. [illegible] For [illegible] of his [illegible] Then [illegible] of the [illegible] there was nothing [illegible] seen [illegible] nothing [illegible] for there was nothing [illegible] in Cory [illegible] p. 55.)

[36] Brih. Up. [illegible] on H[illegible] pp. [illegible]

228 I once observed a [illegible] a very [illegible] of the [illegible] with the other [illegible] some [illegible] shows that there is some [illegible] as being based on a very early infantile gesture.

229 The boring gesture is interesting in another respect too. [illegible] an expression of [illegible] significance. The pleasure and satisfaction [illegible] its pleasure as sexual [illegible] is a general activity satisfying in itself and because it is [illegible] necessary [illegible] a point [illegible] pleasure. [illegible] as the [illegible] of speech. The extreme [illegible] the significance of the [illegible] carries out [illegible] of [illegible] at this point [illegible] the mouth, and to a lesser degree the anus, [illegible] of speech. According to the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, the most important discovery ever made by primitive man, the discovery of fire, came out of the [illegible]. As we might expect, there are texts which make a parallel between fire and speech. The Aitareya Upanishad says:

> Then he drew forth a Person from the waters and shaped him. He [illegible] when he had brooded him forth, a mouth split open like an egg. From the mouth came speech, and from speech fire.[26] [Cf. pl. xiiib.]

230 Here then speech becomes [illegible] we are told that [illegible] between the two in Brihadaranyaka Upanishad:

> "Yajnavalkya, what is the light of man?"
>
> "The sun is his light," he answered. "It is by the light of the sun that a man rests, goes forth, does his work, and returns."
>
> "Quite so, Yajnavalkya. But when the sun has set, what then is the light of man?"
>
> "The moon is his light," he answered. "It is by the light of the moon that a man rests, goes forth, does his work, and returns."

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[26] I, 3-4, trans. based on Hume, p. 294.

Question: Yājñavalkya, [illegible] when the sun has set, and the moon is set, what then is the light of man?"

Answer: Fire then is his light, [illegible] he sits, goes forth, does his work, and returns.

Question: Yājñavalkya, [illegible] when the sun has set, and the moon is set, and the fire has gone out, what then is the light of man?

Answer: Speech then is his light, [illegible] he sits, goes forth, does his work, and returns.

Question: Yājñavalkya, [illegible] when the sun has set, and the moon is set, and the fire has gone out, and speech is hushed, what then is the light of man?

Answer: The self then is his light, [illegible] he sits, goes forth, does his work, and returns.[38]

211 This association of mouth, fire, and speech is not as strange as it [illegible] we speak of a [illegible] of a fiery speech, [illegible] burning words [illegible] and fire [illegible] There [illegible] voice of the Lord [illegible] flames of fire. Jeremiah 23:29: "Is not my word like as a fire?" And in Revelation 11:5 fire proceedeth out of the mouth of the [illegible] witnesses.

212 Again and again fire [illegible] a reminder [illegible] as in Ezekiel 15:4. It is [illegible] ends [illegible] Deuteronomy 4:24: "For the Lord thy God is a consuming fire, even a jealous God." [illegible] best known [illegible] Acts 2:3f.: "And there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance." The tongue of fire caused the glossolalia of the apostles. In a negative sense the Epistle of James 3:6 says: "And the tongue is a fire, a world of iniquity: so is the tongue among our members, that it defileth the whole body, and setteth on fire the course of nature; and it is set on

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[38] Trans. based on Hume, p. 133.

fire of old." Proverbs 16 : 27 says [illegible] An [illegible] diggeth up evil, and in his lips there is as a burning fire." The dragons or beasts of the Apocalypse [illegible] fire and smoke and [illegible] "Out of his mouth go burning lamps, and sparks of fire leap out."

235 The connection of the mouth with fire and speech is [illegible] bright [illegible] Old [illegible] φάος [illegible] Brugsch[1] [illegible] Skr. [illegible] φη-μί, ἔφαν, φάτις, Lat. *fā-ri*, *fātum*.

236 I content myself [illegible] resound [illegible] verbs [illegible]

237 [illegible] speech [illegible] these words was [illegible] the association [illegible] bright [illegible] Skr. [illegible] Lat. [illegible] OHG. and MHG. [illegible] Goth. [illegible] Lat. [illegible] Old Ir. [illegible]

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[1] Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter*, p. [illegible], and *Dictionnaire hiéroglyphique.*

Zen[illegible] *q*[illegible] [illegible][40] Although the stars are only perceptible by the eye, we still talk of the music of the spheres and celestial harmony, just as Pythagoras did. Goethe opens his "Prologue in Heaven" in the same way:

The day-star, sonorous as of old,
Goes his predestined way along
And round his path is thunder rolled,
With his sister spheres in rival song.[41]

Again, in Part II:

Hearken to the storm of hours!
Ringing out for spirits' ears
Now the new-born day appears.
Gates of rock grind back asunder,
Phoebus comes with wheels of thunder,
Light brings tumult in his train.
Drums and trumpets far resounding,
Dazzling, deafening, and dumbfounding,
A din the ears can scarce sustain.
Into bells of blossom creep,
Lie there quietly, as in sleep,
Into rock and under leaf:
If it strikes you, you are deaf.[42]

256 Nor should we forget the verses of Hölderlin:

Where are you? Drunken with all your glory
My soul dreams; yet even now I hearken
As, full of golden tones, the radiant sun-youth
Raises his evening song on the heavenly lyre
To the echoing woods and hills. . . .[43]

257 These images point back to the singing god Apollo, whose lyre marks him out as the "divine musician." The fusion of sound and

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[40] The word [illegible] also be mentioned here because the swan sings when [illegible] The swan, eagle, and phoenix occur in alchemy as rebirth symbols. They signify the sun and [illegible] in the [illegible] conceptual gold [illegible] Cf. also the verse from Heine (trans. by Todhunter):

A swan on the lake sings lonely,
He oars himself to and fro,
Then faint and fainter singing,
Sinks to his grave below.

[41] Trans. by Wayne, p. 39.

[42] [Trans. based on MacNeice, p. [illegible], and an unpublished trans. by Philip Wayne.]

[43] "Sunset." [Cf. trans. by Hamburger, p. 97.]

speech, light, and fire is expressed in an almost physiological way in the phenomenon of "colour hearing," i.e., the perception of the tonal quality of colours and the chromatic quality of musical tones. This leads one to think that there must be a preconscious identity between them. The two phenomena have something in common despite their real differences. It is probably no accident that the two most important discoveries which distinguish man from all other living beings, namely speech and the use of fire, should have a common psychic background. Both are products of psychic energy, of libido or mana. In Sanskrit there is a term which expresses in all its nuances the preconscious situation I have suggested. This is the word *tejas*, and it combines the following meanings:

1. Sharpness, cutting edge.
2. Fire, brightness, light, ardour, heat.
3. Healthy appearance, beauty.
4. The fiery and colour-producing faculty of the human organism (located in the bile).
5. Strength, energy, vital force.
6. Passion.
7. Spiritual and magical power; influence, position, dignity.
8. Semen.[44]

238 *Tejas*, therefore, describes the psychological situation covered by the word "libido." It really denotes subjective intensity. Anything potent, any content highly charged with energy, therefore has a wide range of symbolic meanings. This is obvious enough in the case of language, which is capable of expressing practically anything. But it may not be out of place to say a few words about the symbolism of fire.

239 The Sanskrit word for fire is *agnis* (Lat. *ignis*),[45] personified as Agni, the god of fire, a divine mediator (cf. pl. xiii), whose symbolism has certain affinities with Christian ideas.

240 An Iranian name for fire is *Nairyosagha*, 'masculine word' (Cf. the Indian *Narasamsa*, 'wish of men').[46] Max Müller says of Agni:

> It was a familiar idea with the Brahmans to look upon the fire both as the subject and the object of a sacrifice. The fire embraced the

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[44] Cf. Macdonell, *Sanskrit Dictionary*, p. 111, s.v. *tejas*.—EDITORS.

[45] Connected with *ag-ilis*, agile. See Max Müller, *Origin and Growth of Religion*, p. 212.

[46] Spiegel, *Erânische Altertumskunde*, II, p. 49.

being, and was thus a kind of [illegible] carried it to the gods, and was thus a kind of mediator between gods and men. [illegible] the fire [illegible] a god to whom honour was due, [illegible] and thus became both the subject and the object of the [illegible]. Agni [illegible] a sacrifice [illegible] himself as a sacrifice."[47]

242 The analogy between this Indian thought and the Christian symbol is obvious. Krishna expresses the same idea in the Bhagavad Gita:

All's then God!
The sacrifice is Brahm, the ghee and grain
Are Brahm, the fire is Brahm, the flesh it eats
Is Brahm, and unto Brahm attaineth he
Who, in such office, meditates on Brahm.[48]

243 The wise Diotima in Plato's Symposium has a rather different conception of the divine messenger and mediator. She tells Socrates that Eros [illegible] is intermediary between God and man. His function is to interpret and convey messages to the gods from men and to men from the gods, prayers and sacrifices from the one and commands and rewards from the other, thus bridging the gap between them, so that by his mediation the universe is at one with itself. Diotima gives an excellent description of Eros: "He is bold and forward and strenuous, always devising tricks like a cunning huntsman; he yearns after knowledge and is full of resource, a lover of wisdom all his life, a skilful magician, an alchemist, a true sophist. He is neither mortal nor immortal; but on one and the same day he sometimes flourishes and lives when things go well with him, and also meets his death and is born again through the force of his father's nature. Yet all that he wins is forever slipping away from him."[49]

244 In the Avesta and in the Vedas fire is the messenger of the gods. In Christian mythology, too, there are points of contact

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[47] Max Müller, *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, pp. 164f., mod.

[48] In Book IV, trans. by Arnold, pp. 25–26.

[49] Symposium 203 E and 203 D, trans. by Hamilton, pp. 81f., modified.

with the Agni mysteries [illegible] of the [illegible] in the burning fiery furnace:

Then Nebuchadnezzar the king was astonied, and rose up in haste, and spake, and said unto his counsellors, Did not we cast three men bound into the midst of the fire? They answered and said unto the king, True, O king.

He answered and said, Lo, I see four men loose, walking in the midst of the fire, and they have no hurt; and the form of the fourth is like the Son of God.

247 The *Biblia pauperum* (1471) makes the following comment:

We read in the third chapter of Daniel that Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon caused three men to be placed in a glowing furnace, and that the king came to the furnace and looked in, and saw with the three a fourth, who was like the Son of God. The three signify for us the Holy Trinity of the persons, and the fourth the unity of being. Thus Christ in his transfiguration signified the Trinity of the persons and the unity of being.

248 According to this interpretation, the legend of the three men in the furnace is a magical procedure in which a "fourth" is produced. The fiery furnace, like the fiery tripod in *Faust*, is a mother-symbol. From the tripod come Paris and Helen, the royal pair of alchemy, and in popular speech children are "baked in the oven." The alchemical athanor or melting-pot signifies the body, while the alembic or cucurbita, the Hermetic vessel, represents the uterus. The fourth in the fiery furnace appears like a son of God made visible in the fire. Jehovah himself is a fire. Isaiah 10 : 17 (RSV) says of the saviour of Israel: "And the light of Israel will become a fire, and his Holy One a flame." A saying of Ephraem the Syrian says of Christ: "Thou who art all fire, have pity on me." This view is based on the apocryphal saying of our Lord: "He that is near unto me is near unto the fire."

249 [illegible] the sun [illegible] and [illegible]. Just as Christ [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[49] The [illegible]

[illegible] Soma and fire are iden[illegible] Vedic [illegible] The ancient Hindus saw [illegible] both as a symbol of Agni [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] body of Christ.

[illegible] Soma is [illegible] Its mythological [illegible] with those of fire, and [illegible] are united in Agni [illegible] Amrita was stirred by the Hindu gods like the fire. (Pl. xv.)

[illegible] pramantha [illegible] and we have [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] prepared [illegible] in an [illegible] manner [illegible] Easter [illegible] religious [illegible]

---

5 [illegible] of Agni [illegible] Christian and with Indian mythology

6 [illegible]

[illegible] epidemics.

[illegible]

[illegible]

---

65 "Zur Psychologie der Brandstifter," p. 80.

a stage. From the psychological point of view the ceremony has the significance of a regulating institution, inasmuch as it represents a clearly defined procedure for canalizing the libido. It has, in fact, the functional value of a paradigm, and its purpose is to show us how we should act when the libido gets blocked. What we call the "blocking of libido" is for the primitive a hard and concrete fact: his life ceases to flow, things lose their glamour, plants, animals, and men no longer prosper. The ancient Chinese philosophy of the *I Ching* devised some brilliant images for this state of affairs. Modern man, in the same situation, experiences a standstill ("I am stuck"), a loss of energy and enjoyment ("the zest has gone out of life"), or a depression. One frequently has to tell the patient what is happening to him, for modern man's powers of introspection leave much to be desired. It even today the new fire is kindled at Easter as a commemoration of the redemptive and saving significance of the first fire-boring. In this way man wrested a secret from nature, the Promethean theft of fire. He made himself guilty of an unlawful intervention, incorporating a fragment of the age-old unconsciousness into the darkness of his mind. With this theft he appropriated something precious and offended against the gods. Anyone who knows the primitive's fear of innovations and their unforeseen consequences can imagine the uncertainty and uneasy conscience which such a discovery would arouse. This primordial experience finds an echo in the widespread motif of robbery (the cattle of Geryon, apples of the Hesperides, herb of immortality). And it is worth remembering that in the cult of Diana at Aricia only he could become her priest who plucked the golden bough from the sacred grove of the goddess.

IV

THE ORIGIN OF THE HERO

251 The finest of all symbols of the libido is the human figure, conceived as a demon or hero. Here the symbolism leaves the objective, material realm of astral and meteorological images and takes on human form, changing into a figure who passes from joy to sorrow, from sorrow to joy,[1] and, like the sun, now stands high at the zenith and now is plunged into darkest night, only to rise again in new splendour. Just as the sun, by its own motion and in accordance with its own inner law, climbs from morning to noon, crosses the meridian and goes its downward way towards evening, leaving its radiance behind it, and finally plunges into all-enveloping night, so man sets his course by immutable laws and, his journey over, sinks into darkness, to rise again in his children and begin the cycle anew. The symbolic transition from sun to man is easily made, and the third and last creation of Miss Miller's follows this pattern. She calls it "Chiwantopel, A Hypnagogic Drama," and gives us the following information concerning its origin:

> After an evening of trouble and anxiety, I had gone to bed at half-past eleven. I felt restless; unable to sleep although very tired. I had the impression of being in a receptive mood. There was no light in the room. I closed my eyes, and had the feeling of waiting for something that was about to happen. Then I felt a great relaxation come over me, and I remained as completely passive as possible. Lines, sparks, and spirals of fire passed before my eyes, symptoms of nervousness and ocular fatigue, followed by a kaleidoscopic and fragmentary review of recent trivial events.

252 The reader will share my regret that we cannot know the cause of her worry and anxiety. It would have been of great

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[1] Hence the beautiful name of the sun-hero Gilgamesh, "The Man of Joy and Sorrow," in Jensen, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos.*

[illegible] have [illegible] on this [illegible] during [illegible] was [illegible] [illegible] The [illegible]

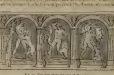

Fig. 17. The first three labours of Heracles
Classical sarcophagus relief

[illegible] away from [illegible] as a [illegible]

[illegible] The [illegible] presents a case of [illegible] [illegible] pass unnoticed. We [illegible] and mysteries [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] of the [illegible] springs from [illegible] which has been the [illegible] of so many human [illegible] beyond the [illegible] and [illegible] Hence [illegible] forms [illegible] This [illegible] known [illegible] from [illegible] as La Rochefoucauld says, is also a passion.

Of all the Passions we are exposed to, none is more concealed from our knowledge than Idleness. It is the most violent, the most malignant of all, and yet at the same time we are never sensible of its Violence, and the Damage we sustain by it is very seldom seen. If we consider its Power carefully, it will be found upon all Occasions to reign absolute over all our Sentiments, our Interests, and our Pleasures. It is a Remora that can stop the largest Ships, and a Calm of worse Consequence to our Affairs than any Rocks and Storms. The Ease and Quiet of Sloth is a secret Charm upon the Soul, that suspends its most eager Pursuits and shakes its most obstinate Resolutions. To give a true Image of this Passion, we must say that it is a supposed Felicity of the Soul, that makes her easy under all her Losses, and supplies the Place of all her Enjoyments and Advantages.[?]

This dangerous passion is what lies hidden beneath the hazardous mask of incest. It confronts us in the guise of the

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Kerényi's [illegible]

[illegible]

La Rochefoucauld, Moral Maxims, No. [illegible]

Terrible Mother* [illegible] xxvi [illegible] xxxvi [illegible] and is moved [illegible] mother [illegible] innumerable [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] magnitude [illegible] [illegible] becomes [illegible] However we [illegible] fantasies [illegible] most [illegible] here we [illegible] [illegible] the question whether [illegible] [illegible] a regression [illegible] were an ex ternal difficulty [illegible] back [illegible] be [illegible] with [illegible] lead [illegible] The pass [illegible] [illegible] that [illegible] In the [illegible] [illegible] sort of [illegible] which [illegible] We [illegible] be [illegible] because [illegible] [illegible] pictures an [illegible] as a [illegible]

255 The visionary phenomena produced [illegible] first stage of [illegible] [illegible]

256 Miss Miller continues:

There [illegible] that something was [illegible] [illegible] words [illegible] [illegible] name ears.

257 This passage [illegible] the words [illegible] [illegible]

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* Cf. the following chapters.

† [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] than psychophysics.

259 [illegible] Jesus [illegible]

[illegible] What we seek in visible human form is not [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Now that we have [illegible] we are [illegible] about the [illegible] was disturbed and woke up for a moment [illegible] famous of the [illegible] statue [illegible] The word [illegible] Sphinx [illegible] The Sphinx is a [illegible] or rather [illegible] except the word [illegible] Sphinx of [illegible] But in the [illegible] Part I [illegible] Therefore, in order to understand the vision [illegible] We regard to the Sphinx [illegible] Part I [illegible] They are well known [illegible] Sphinx [illegible] which [illegible] animal instinct [illegible] the above men

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[illegible] "Tausterlerte Halluzinationen," pp. 69ff

[illegible] Middle Ages [illegible] as an [illegible] of pleasure [illegible]

[illegible] whereas in [illegible] possible. But [illegible] that sex is not the [illegible] repression. [illegible] as a means of expression. [illegible] sex and [illegible] scious manifestations of libido.

[illegible] There are [illegible] for the sake of some [illegible]

[illegible] Regression, as we have seen, [illegible] way. Thus [illegible]

[illegible] cow (cf. pl. Ia), and so on [11]

[illegible]

[illegible] image

[12] [illegible] ogy

of herself. The Mother, the Medusa, [illegible] is a wonderful monster [illegible] the Sphinx, [illegible] cannot be solved merely by the wit of man.

265 The genealogy of the Sphinx has manifold connections with the problem touched upon here: she was a daughter of Echidna, a monster with the top half a beautiful maiden, and the lower half a hideous serpent. This double being corresponds to the mother-imago: above, the lovely and attractive human half; below, the horrible animal half, changed into a fear-animal by the incest prohibition. Echidna was born of the All-Mother, Mother Earth, Gaia, who conceived her with Tartarus, the personification of the underworld. Echidna herself was the mother of all terrors, of the Chimera, Scylla, the Gorgon, of frenzied Cerberus, of the Nemean lion, and of the eagle that devoured the liver of Prometheus. She also gave birth to a number of dragons. One of her sons was Orthrus, the dog of the monster Geryon, who was slain by Heracles. With this dog, her own son, Echidna incestuously begat the Sphinx. This should be sufficient to characterize the complex whose symbol is the Sphinx. It is evident that a factor of such magnitude cannot be disposed of by solving a childish riddle. The riddle was, in fact, the trap which the Sphinx laid for the unwary wanderer. Overestimating his intellect in a typically masculine way, Oedipus walked right into it, and all unknowingly committed the crime of incest. The riddle of the Sphinx was herself—the terrible mother-imago, which Oedipus would not take as a warning.

266 If, in spite of the lack of subjective material, we may venture to draw conclusions concerning the Sphinx symbolism in the case of Miss Miller, we may perhaps say that its meaning for her is approximately the same as it was for Oedipus, even though Oedipus was a man. We would almost expect a masculine sphinx, and as a matter of fact there are male as well as female sphinxes in Egypt. This may have been known to Miss Miller. The Sphinx of Thebes was undoubtedly feminine. If our speculations are correct, we would have to look for a masculine monster, because the danger for a woman comes not from the mother, but from the father. We shall leave this question open for the moment, and come back to our facts. After Miss Miller [illegible] the Aztec [illegible]

[illegible] as follows:

> S[illegible] the [illegible] an Aztec, complete in every detail: hands open, with large fingers, head in profile, [illegible] the [illegible] crests of the American Indians, etc. The whole is somewhat suggestive of the carvings on Mexican monuments.

267 Our conjecture that a masculine figure was hidden in the Sphinx is now confirmed. The Aztec is a primitive Indian, or rather a primitive American. On the personal level he represents the primitive side of the father, since Miss Miller was an American. I have frequently observed in the analysis of Americans that the inferior side of the personality, the "shadow,"[17] is represented by a Negro or an Indian, whereas in the dream of a European it would be represented by a somewhat shady individual of his own kind. These representatives of the so-called inferior races [illegible] But Miss Miller is a woman. Therefore her shadow would have to be a feminine figure. But what we have here is a masculine figure which, in view of the role it plays in the Miller fantasies, must be regarded as a personification of the masculine component of the woman's personality. (Cf. [illegible].) In my later writings I have called this personification the "animus."[18]

268 [illegible]

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[17] [illegible] unconscious. It corresponds to the concept of the "personal unconscious." Cf. "On the Psychology of the Unconscious," *Two Essays*, par. 103.

[18] [illegible] pp. 1ff.

dom of Solomon 5:16: "Therefore shall they receive [illegible] a beautiful crown from the Lord's hand." There are countless other passages of this kind in the Bible. A hymn by J. L. K. Allendorf says of the soul:

The soul is freed from all care and pain,
And in dying it has come
To the crown of joy; she stands as bride and queen
In the glitter of eternal splendour,
At the side of the great king.

[The soul] sees a clear countenance [sun],
His [the sun's] joyful loving nature
Now restores it through and through.
It is a light in his light.
Now the child can see the father,
He feels the gentle emotion of love.
Now he can understand the word of Jesus:
He himself, the father, has loved you.
An unfathomable sea of benefits,
An abyss of eternal waves of blessing
Is disclosed to the enlightened spirit;
He beholds the countenance of God,
And knows what signifies the Inheritor
Of God in light and the co-heir of Christ.
The feeble body rests on the earth;
It sleeps until Jesus awakens it.
Then will the dust become the sun,
Which now is covered by the dark cavern:
Then shall we come together
With all the pious who knows how soon,
And will be for eternity with the Lord.[16]

219 Another hymn by Laurentius Laurenti (1660-1722) says:

To the bride, because she conquers,
Now is given the eternal crown.[17]

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[16] Bunsen, Gebetbuch, No. 908, p. 789. As [illegible] in the [illegible] (fig. [illegible]) [illegible], the crown also plays a role in alchemy, perhaps as a result of cabalistic influence. Cf. the compilation by Goodenough, "The Crown of Victory in Judaism," pp. [illegible]. The hermaphrodite is generally represented as crowned (p. [illegible]). For the alchemical material on the crown, see "Psychology of the Transference," par. 497, n. 14.

[17] Bunsen, No. 494, p. 271.

In a [illegible], we find the passage

Adorn my coffin with garlands
[illegible]
From those springs of heaven,
[illegible]
The eternally green crown
The true glory of victory,
Coming from the son of God
Who has so cared for me [18]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] as a neurosis or even a psychosis.

[illegible] Miss Miller felt that a [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] use of these titles is reserved to Christ,

[illegible]

[illegible] nected with flute-playing.

[illegible] the nearest source.

[illegible] be unrelated to German.—EDITORS.]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] products in [illegible] We [illegible] "come out."

177 [illegible] in my [illegible] insane artists, which is relevant here:

> [illegible] he was asked [illegible]

---

[25] [illegible]

[26] [illegible]

[27] Lombroso, *Genio e Follia*, p. 141.

[illegible]

'Do you like me now?'

[illegible]

[illegible] to [illegible] products [illegible] personal [illegible] is [illegible] has a [illegible] moment of [illegible] which [illegible] plays an important part in the [illegible] about the [illegible] in these passages [illegible] for a [illegible] and [illegible] as [illegible] for the [illegible] a [illegible] possess [illegible] as great a [illegible] of [illegible] to [illegible] a man's [illegible] take [illegible] have [illegible] their personal [illegible]

280 As a parallel [illegible] hypnagogic [illegible] consciousness, Miss Miller mentions another instance of a name suddenly [illegible] "A[illegible]amarama," which she felt [illegible] about it. As a possible [illegible] the words "Asurabama" [illegible] cuneiform [illegible] We know that Assurbanipal [illegible] library excavated at Kuyunjik, and it may be that "Asurabama" was something like "Assurbanipal." We must also consider the name "Ahasuerus," which we met in Part I. The word "Ahamarama" [illegible] associations with Anah and Aholibamah [illegible] whom Cain [illegible] with [illegible] sinful passion for the sons of God. [illegible] as [illegible] for [illegible] Was [illegible] perhaps one of the two wives [illegible] Aholibamah [illegible] was the daughter of [illegible] (Gen. 36:2 and 14), and another wife was called Adah. Dr. Riwkah Schärf has drawn my attention to [illegible] George Mason [illegible] on Byron's "Heaven and Earth," [illegible] points out that Anah was [illegible] Adah in the original draft, but that Byron altered it to Anah because Adah had already occurred in his drama "Cain." So far as the meaning of the words is concerned, Aholibamah is the counterpart of Aholah and Aholibah. Aholah means "she has her own tabernacle" (i.e., her own temple), and Aholibah means "my tabernacle is in her" (i.e., in Jerusalem), just as Aholah is the name of Samaria (Ezek. 23:4). In Gen. 36:2 Aholibamah is also the name of one of the wives of Esau. The Canaanitish [illegible] as a synonym for [illegible] Whereas Miss Miller's neolo-

gism "Ahamarama [illegible] open to question.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] instance [illegible] have [illegible] taneously with four white horses!

[illegible] my paper [illegible]

[illegible] Koran literally:[illegible]

[illegible] things you cannot comprehend?"

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] We exist because the sun sees us.

means of fulfilling all his wishes. He took his way until he came to the place where the sun sets, and he found it set in a black muddy spring. . . .

284 Now follows a moral reflection; then the story continues:

> Then he took his way further, until he came to the place where the sun rises. . . .

285 If we wish to know who the unknown servant of God is, this passage tells us that he is Dhulqarnein, or Alexander: he goes to the place of setting and the place of rising, like the sun. The commentators explain that the unknown servant of God is Khidr, the "Verdant One," the tireless wanderer, teacher and counsellor of pious men, wise in divine knowledge, the immortal.[33] On the authority of al-Tabari, Khidr is connected with Dhulqarnein: following the armies of Alexander, he reached the "stream of life," and they both unwittingly drank of it, and so became immortal. Moreover, Khidr is identified by the old commentators with Elias, who also did not die, but ascended to heaven in a fiery chariot, a feature he shares with Helios.[34] It has been conjectured that Ahasuerus owes his existence to an obscure passage in the Bible. This passage occurs in Matthew 16 : 28. First comes the scene where Christ appoints Peter as the rock of his Church and names him the holder of his power. Then follows the prophecy of his death, ending with the words:

> Verily I say unto you, There be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom.

286 This is followed immediately by the Transfiguration:

> And [he] was transfigured before them: and his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light.
>
> And, behold, there appeared unto them Moses and Elias talking with him.
>
> Then answered Peter, and said unto Jesus, Lord, it is good for us to be here: if thou wilt, let us make here three tabernacles; one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias.

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[33] Vollers, "Chidher," pp. 254ff. This is my source for the Koran commentaries.

[34] Also with Mithras and Christ. See par. 165, above.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] John the Baptist.

[illegible]

[illegible] in India, with his "unmarried" Kanya [illegible]

[illegible] split up into several figures.

[illegible]

[illegible] Cumont, *Textes*, I, pp. 172ff.

before him or Helios app[illegible] (On the [illegible] monument Mithras has in his [illegible] hand [illegible] raised to [illegible] and [illegible] however [illegible] lies between them on the ground [illegible] scene perhaps [illegible] the [illegible] type of [illegible] the dignity of Mithras when a [illegible] on the neophyte [illegible] Helios is [illegible] of the M[illegible] of Mithras. In general, Mithras seems to [illegible] the [illegible] part of patron [illegible] Helios. This recalls the bold deed of Heracles towards the sun: [illegible] at the monster Geryon, the sun burned too fiercely, so Heracles in wrath [illegible] with his invincible arrows. Helios was [illegible] a [illegible] which he used for crossing the sea. Thus he came to Erythia, to the cattle of Geryon.[42]

289 On the Klagenfurt monument Mithras is also shown with [illegible] Helios by the hand, [illegible] crown [illegible] (Pl. xxxa). In another scene he [illegible] the hair of Helios for the ascension or sea-journey.[44] ([illegible]) that Mithras performs a kind of ceremonial [illegible] the divine power of Helios by [illegible] with his own hands.[45] This relationship [illegible] that between Christ and Peter. Peter's attribute, the cock, gives him a solar character. After Christ's ascension he becomes the visible representative of God; therefore he suffers the same death [illegible] fixion as his master, replaces the [illegible] of the Roman imperium, the Sol invictus, and becomes the head of the Church Militant and [illegible]. In the Malchus scene he already appears as the Mithras of Christ, [illegible] the sword. His successors all wear the triple crown [illegible] that the crown is a solar

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[42] Ibid., p. 175.

[43] The parallel between Heracles and Mithras can be carried even further. Like Heracles, Mithras is an excellent archer. [illegible] it would seem that [illegible] Heracles [illegible] was threatened [illegible] by a snake. The [illegible] of Heracles have the same meaning as the [illegible] and sacrifice of the bull in the Mithraic mystery. (Cf. fig. [illegible])

[44] These three scenes are represented on the [illegible] Klagenfurt monument [illegible] presumably there was some dramatic connection between them [illegible] illustrated in Cumont, *Mysteries of Mithra*, fig. 24, p. 155.

[45] Ibid. See also Roscher, II, 3048, 42ff.

a[illegible]e, hence the Phoenix is a symbol [illegible] comes like the Roman Caesars. The [illegible] appears as a successor who [illegible] solar power [illegible] gives Khidr eternal life. Khidr imparts his wisdom to Moses. There is even a legend that Moses' forgetful servant Joshua unwittingly drank from the fountain of life, whereupon he became immortal and, as a punishment, was placed in a boat by Khidr and Moses and cast out to sea—another fragment of a sun-myth, the motif of the "sea-journey."[46]

290 The symbol for that portion of the zodiac in which the sun re-enters the yearly cycle at the time of the winter solstice is Capricorn, originally known as the "Goat-Fish" (αἰγόκερως, "goat-horned"): the sun mounts like a goat to the tops of the highest mountains, and then plunges into the depths of the sea like a fish. The fish in dreams occasionally signifies the unborn child,[47] because the child before its birth lives in the water like a fish; similarly, when the sun sinks into the sea, it becomes child and fish at once. The fish is therefore a symbol of renewal and rebirth.

291 The journey of Moses with his servant Joshua is a life-journey (it lasted eighty years). They grow old together and lose the life-force, i.e., the fish, which "in wondrous wise took its way to the sea" (setting of the sun). When the two notice their loss, they discover at the place where the source of life is found (where the dead fish revived and sprang into the sea) Khidr wrapped in his mantle,[48] sitting on the ground. In another version he was sitting on an island in the midst of the sea, "in the wettest place on earth," which means that he had just been born from the maternal depths. Where the fish vanished Khidr, the Verdant One, was born as a son of the watery deep, his head veiled, proclaiming divine wisdom, like the

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[46] Cf. Frobenius, *Zeitalter des Sonnengottes.*

[47] This interpretation is still far from biological. To be more accurate, the fish signifies an autonomous content of the unconscious. Manu had a fish [illegible] Christ was a fish, like [illegible] son of the Syrian [illegible] Derceto. Joshua ben Nun was [illegible] (Dhulqarnein = Alexander) turns up in the legend of Khidr. (Cf. pl. xxa.)

[48] The wrapping signifies invisibility, hence being a spirit. That is why the neophytes were veiled in the mysteries. (Cf. pl. xxb.) Children born with a caul over their heads are supposed to be particularly fortunate.

Babylonian Oannes (cf. fig. 18), who was represented in fish form and daily came out of the sea as a fish to teach the people wisdom.[49]

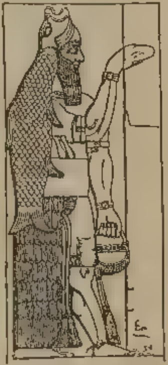

Fig. 18. Priest with a fish-mask, representing Oannes
Relief, Nimrud

292 Oannes' name was brought into connection with John's. With the rising of the reborn sun the fish that dwelt in darkness, surrounded by all the terrors of night and death,[50] becomes

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[49] The Etruscan Tages, the boy who sprang from the freshly ploughed furrow, was also a teacher of wisdom. In the Litaolane myth of the Basutos (Frobenius, p. 105), we are told how a monster devoured all human beings and left only one woman alive, who gave birth to a son in a cowshed instead of in a cave. Before she could prepare a bed of straw for the infant he was already grown up and spoke "words of wisdom." The rapid growth of the hero, a recurrent motif, seems to indicate that the birth and apparent childhood of the hero are extraordinary because his birth is really a rebirth, for which reason he is able to adapt so quickly to his heroic role. For a more detailed interpretation of the Khidr legend, see my paper "Concerning Rebirth," pars. 240ff.

[50] Cf. Ra's fight with the night serpent.

[illegible] the [illegible] Matt. [illegible]

I [illegible] water [illegible] he that [illegible] the Holy Ghost, and with fire.

293 [illegible] Khidr and Elias [illegible] Moses [illegible] [illegible] the prototype of Ahasuerus.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] had to be shown outside it.

[illegible] between Christ and the two thieves.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] "dogma of the Trinity," pars. [illegible]

[illegible]

immortal part, so the sun is a pair of brothers, one of whom is mortal, the other immortal. Man is mortal, yet there are exceptions who are immortal, or there is something immortal in us. Thus the gods, or figures like Khidr and the Comte de Saint-Germain, are our immortal part which continues intangibly to exist. The sun comparison tells us over and over again that the dynamic of the gods is psychic energy. This is our immortality, the link through which man feels inextinguishably one with the continuity of all life.[54] The life of the psyche is the life of mankind. Welling up from the depths of the unconscious, its springs gush forth from the root of the whole human race, since the individual is, biologically speaking, only a twig broken off from the mother and transplanted.

297 The psychic life-force, the libido, symbolizes itself in the sun[55] or personifies itself in figures of heroes with solar attributes. At the same time it expresses itself through phallic symbols. Both possibilities are found on a late Babylonian gem from Lajard's collection (fig. 21). In the middle stands an androgynous deity. On the masculine side there is a snake with a sun halo round its head; on the feminine side another snake with a moon above it. This picture has a symbolic sexual nuance: on the masculine side there is a lozenge, a favourite symbol of the female genitals, and on the feminine side a wheel without its rim. The spokes are thickened at the ends into knobs,

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[54] Cf. Shvetashvatara Upanishad (IV, 6ff.), which uses the following parable to describe the individual and the universal soul, or the personal and suprapersonal atman:

Behold, upon the selfsame tree,
Two birds, fast-bound companions, sit.
This one enjoys the ripened fruit,
The other looks, but does not eat.

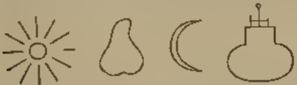
On such a tree my spirit crouched,
Deluded by its powerlessness,
Till seeing with joy how great its Lord,
It found from sorrow swift release. . . .

Hymns, sacrifices, Vedic lore,
Past, future, all by him are taught.
The Maya Maker thinks the world
In which by Maya we are caught.

(Trans. based on Hume, pp. 403f.)

[55] Among [illegible] The Mithraic liturgy lays particular stress on fire as the divine element, referring to it as τὸ τῆς ἐμῆς κράσεως θεοδώρητον, 'the divine gift in my composition.' Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, p. 58.

knobs, which, like the fingers we mentioned earlier, have a phallic meaning. It seems to be a phallic wheel such as was not unknown in antiquity. There are obscene gems on which Cupid is shown turning a wheel consisting entirely of phalli.[60] As to what the sun signifies, I discovered in the collection of antiquities at Verona a late Roman inscription with the following symbols:[61]



298 The symbolism is plain: sun-phallus, moon-vessel (uterus). This interpretation is confirmed by another monument from the same collection. The symbols are the same, except that the vessel[62] has been replaced by the figure of a woman. Certain symbols on coins can probably be interpreted in a similar manner. In Lajard's *Recherches sur le culte de Vénus* there is a coin from Perga showing Artemis as a conical stone flanked by a masculine figure alleged to be the deity Men and a female figure alleged to be Artemis. Men, otherwise called Lunus, appears on an Attic bas-relief with a spear, flanked by Pan with a club and a female figure.[63] From this it is clear that sexuality as well as the sun can be used to symbolize the libido.

299 One further point deserves mention here. The dadophor Cautopates is often represented with a cock[64] and pine-cones. These are the attributes of the Phrygian god Men (pl. XXXIa), whose cult was very widespread. He was shown with the pileus[65] or Phrygian cap and pine-cones, riding on the cock, and also

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[60] An illustration of the periodicity thus expressed [illegible]

[61] Reproduction from a photograph, not from a drawing I myself made.

[62] In a myth of the Bakairi Indians of Brazil, a woman appears who sprang from a corn mortar. A Zulu myth tells a woman to catch a drop of blood in a pot, then close the pot, put it aside for eight months, and open it again in the ninth month. She follows this advice, opens the pot in the ninth month, and finds a child inside it. (Frobenius, I, p. 237.)

[63] Roscher, *Lexikon*, II, 2733/4, s.v. "Men."

[64] A well-known sun-animal. [65] Like M[illegible]as and the dadophors.

in the form of a boy, just as the dadophors were boyish figures. (This latter characteristic relates both them and Men to the Cabiri and Dactyls.) Now Men has attributes which link him with Attis, the son and lover of Cybele. In Imperial times Men and Attis merged into one. Attis also wears the pileus, like Men, Mithras, and the dadophors. As the son and lover of his mother he raises the incest problem. Incest leads logically to ritual castration in the Attis-Cybele cult, for according to legend the hero, driven mad by his mother, mutilates himself. I must refrain from going into

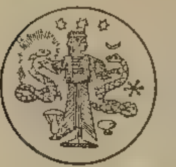

Fig. 19. Androgynous divinity. *Late Babylonian gem*

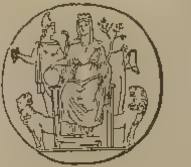

Fig. 20. Cybele and her son-lover Attis. *Roman coin*

this question more deeply at present, as I would prefer to discuss the incest problem at the end of this book. Here I would only point out that the incest motif is bound to arise, because when the regressing libido is introverted for internal or external reasons it always reactivates the parental imagos and thus apparently re-establishes the infantile relationship. But this relationship cannot be re-established, because the libido is an adult libido which is already bound to sexuality and inevitably imports an incompatible, incestuous character into the reactivated relationship to the parents.[60] It is this sexual character that now gives rise to the incest symbolism. Since incest must be avoided at all costs, the result is either the death of the son-lover or his self-castration as punishment for the incest he has committed, or else the sacrifice of instinctuality, and especially of sexuality, as a means of preventing or expiating the incestuous longing. (Cf. fig. 20.) Sex being one of the most obvious examples of instinctuality, it is sex which is liable to be most affected by these sacrificial measures, i.e., through abstinence. The heroes are usually wanderers,[98] and wandering is a symbol of longing,[99] of the restless urge which never finds its object, of nostalgia for the lost mother. The sun comparison can easily be taken in this sense: the heroes are like the wandering sun, from which it is concluded that the myth of the hero is a solar myth. It seems to us, rather, that he is first and foremost a self-representation of the longing of the unconscious, of its unquenched and unquenchable desire for the light of consciousness. But consciousness, continually in danger of being led astray by its own light and of becoming a rootless will o' the wisp, longs for the healing power of nature, for the deep wells of being and for unconscious communion with life in all its countless forms. Here I must make way for the master who has plumbed to the roots of these Faustian longings:

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[60] This explanation is not satisfactory, because I found it impossible to go into the archetypal incest problem and all its complications here. I have dealt with it at some length in my "Psychology of the Transference."

MEPHISTOPHELES: This lofty mystery I must now unfold.
Goddesses throned in solitude sublime,
Set in no place, still less in any time,
At the mere thought of them my blood runs cold.
They are the Mothers!

. . . .

Goddesses, unknown to mortal mind,
And named by us with dread among our kind.
To reach them you must plumb earth's deepest vault;
That we have need of them is your own fault.

FAUST: Where leads the way?

MEPHISTOPHELES: There's no way! To the untrodden,
Untreadable regions—the unforgotten
And unforgettable—for which you pray?
There are no bolts, no hatches to be lifted;
Through endless solitudes you shall be drifted.
Can you imagine Nothing everywhere?

. .

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[98] Like Gilgamesh, Dionysus, Heracles, Mithras, etc.

[99] Cf. Graf, *Richard Wagner im Fliegenden Holländer*.

Supposing you had swum across the ocean
And gazed upon the immensity of space,
Still you would see wave after wave in motion,
And even though you feared the world should cease,
You'd still see something: in the translucent green
Of the calm deep are gliding dolphins seen,
The flying clouds above, sun, moon and star.
But blank is that eternal Void afar,
You do not hear your footfall, and you meet
No solid ground on which to set your feet.

Here, take this key.

The key will smell the right place from all others:
Follow it down, it leads you to the Mothers.

Then to the depths!—I could as well say height:
It's all the same. From the Existent fleeing,
Take the free world of forms for your delight,
Rejoice in things that long have ceased from being.
The busy brood will weave like coiling cloud,
But swing your key to keep away the crowd.

A fiery tripod warns you to beware,
This is the nethermost place where now you are.
You shall behold the Mothers by its light,
Some of them sit, some walk, some stand outright,
Just as they please. Formation, transformation,
Eternal Mind's eternal recreation.
Thronged round with images of things to be,
They see you not, shadows are all they see.
Then pluck up heart, the danger here is great,
Approach the tripod, do not hesitate,
And touch it with the key![40]

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[40] Trans. based on MacNeice, pp. 175ff., and on the trans. by Wayne, Part II, pp. 76ff.

V

SYMBOLS OF THE MOTHER AND OF REBIRTH

300 [illegible] Miss Miller as a [illegible]. We know [illegible] that this image symbolizes a secret [illegible]. The possession of a secret [illegible] a person [illegible] that [illegible] important [illegible] between [illegible] a swarming mass [illegible] of the unconscious [illegible] the ego.

301 [illegible]

302 [illegible] expression [illegible] Miss Miller [illegible]

heavenly Jerusalem as the poet of the Apocalypse dreamt it.[2] (Cf. pl. XXIIa.)

303 The city is a maternal symbol, a woman who harbours the inhabitants in herself like children. It is therefore understandable that the three mother goddesses, Rhea, Cybele, and Diana, all wear the mural crown (pl. XXIIb). The Old Testament treats the cities of Jerusalem, Babylon, etc. just as if they were women. Isaiah (47:1ff.) cries out:

> Come down, and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon, sit on the ground: there is no throne, O daughter of the Chaldeans: for thou shalt no more be called tender and delicate.
> Take the millstones, and grind meal: uncover thy locks, make bare the leg, uncover the thigh, pass over the rivers.
> Thy nakedness shall be uncovered, yea, thy shame shall be seen: I will take vengeance, and I will not meet thee as a man. . . .
> Sit thou silent, and get thee into darkness, O daughter of the Chaldeans: for thou shalt no more be called The lady of kingdoms.

304 Jeremiah (50:12) says of Babylon:

> Your mother shall be sore confounded; she that bare you shall be ashamed.

305 Strong, unconquered cities are virgins; colonies are sons and daughters. Cities are also harlots; Isaiah (23:16) says of Tyre:

> Take an harp, go about the city, thou harlot that hast been forgotten,

and (1:21):

> How is the faithful city become an harlot!

306 We find a similar symbolism in the myth of Ogyges, the prehistoric king of Egypt who reigned in Thebes, and whose wife was appropriately called Thebe. The Boeotian city of Thebes founded by Cadmus received on that account the cognomen "Ogygian." This cognomen was also applied to the great Flood, which was called "Ogygian" because it happened under Ogyges. We shall see later on that this coincidence can hardly be accidental. The fact that the city and the wife of Ogyges both have the same name indicates that there must be some relation between the city and the woman, which is not difficult to under-

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[2] Today we would call it a mandala symbol of the self.

[illegible]

907 Frobenius writes

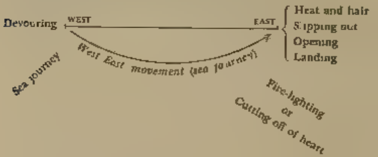
If then we [illegible] the [illegible] connected with the death [illegible]

[illegible]

the fish, which means the sea (on the assumption that the sun descends into the sea as well as rises out of it). Hence the strange primitive answer is that the sea has previously swallowed the old sun. The resulting myth is that, since the sea-woman devoured the sun and now brings a new sun into the world, she obviously became pregnant in that way.[8]

308 All these sea-going gods are solar figures. They are enclosed in a chest or ark for the "night sea journey" (Frobenius), often in the company of a woman (pl. XXIIb)—an inversion of the actual situation, but linking up with the theme of continuous cohabitation we met above. During the night sea journey the sun-god is shut up in the mother's womb, and often threatened by all kinds of dangers.

309 Instead of using numerous separate examples, I shall content myself with reproducing the diagram which Frobenius constructed from numberless myths of this sort:



310 Frobenius gives the following legend by way of illustration:

> A hero is devoured by a water-monster in the West (*devouring*). The animal travels with him to the East (*sea journey*). Meanwhile, the hero lights a fire in the belly of the monster (*fire-lighting*), and feeling hungry, cuts himself a piece of the heart (*cutting off of heart*). Soon afterwards, he notices that the fish has glided on to dry land (*landing*); he immediately begins to cut open the animal from within (*opening*); then he slips out (*slipping out*). It was so hot in the fish's belly that all his hair has fallen out (*heat and hair*). The hero may at the same time free all those who were previously devoured by the monster, and who now slip out too.[9]

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[8] Frobenius, *Das Zeitalter des Sonnengottes*, p. 30.
[9] Ibid., p. 42

A very fine [illegible] Hanuman [illegible]

The sun travelling [illegible]

[illegible]

state of union with the mother.

372 In [illegible]

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[7] Ibid., pp. 60f.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[9] Frobenius, pp. 173f.

exposed in a cask and thrown into the sea, and then lands on a distant shore to begin a new life. The middle section, the night sea journey in the ark, is lacking in the Ogyges tradition. But as a rule the individual typical parts of a myth can be fitted together in every conceivable variation, which makes it extraordinarily difficult to interpret one myth without a knowledge of all the others. The meaning of this cycle of myths is clear enough: it is the longing to attain rebirth through a return to the womb, and to become immortal like the sun. This longing for the mother is amply expressed in the literature of the Bible, and I cite first the passage in Galatians 4:26ff. and 5:1:

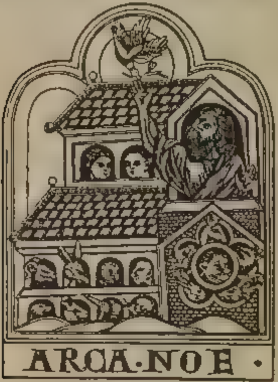

Fig. 21. Noah in the Ark
Enamelled altar of Nicholas of Verdun, 1186,
Klosterneuburg, near Vienna

But Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all.

For it is written, Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not; break forth and cry, thou that travailest not: for the desolate hath many more children than she which hath an husband.

Now we, brethren, as Isaac was, are the children of promise.

But as then he that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now.

Nevertheless what saith the scripture? Cast out the bondwoman and her son: for the son of the bondwoman shall not be heir with the son of the freewoman.

So then, brethren, we are not children of the bondwoman, but of the free.

Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free.

315 The Christians are children of the Higher City, not sons of the earthly city-mother, who is to be cast out, for those who are born after the flesh are opposed to those born after the spirit, who are not born from the flesh-and-blood mother but from a symbol of the mother. Here again one thinks of the American Indians who say that the first man was born from a sword-hilt and a shuttle. The symbol-creating process substitutes for the mother the city, the well, the cave, the Church, etc. (cf. pls. XXa and XXX). This substitution is due to the fact that the regression of libido reactivates the ways and habits of childhood, and above all the relation to the mother; but what was natural and useful to the child is a psychic danger for the adult, and this is expressed by the symbol of incest. Because the incest taboo opposes the libido and blocks the path of regression, it is possible for the libido to be canalized into the mother analogies thrown up by the unconscious. In that way the libido becomes progressive again, and even attains a level of consciousness higher than before. The meaning and purpose of this canalization are particularly evident when the city appears in place of the mother: the infantile attachment (whether primary or secondary) is a crippling limitation for the adult, whereas attachment to the city fosters his civic virtues and at least enables him to lead a useful existence. In primitives the tribe takes the place of the city. We find a well-developed city symbolism in the Johannine Apocalypse, where two cities play a great part, one [illegible]

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18 And of course the latter, although [illegible] the mother's name [illegible] takes first place, being on a deeper level.

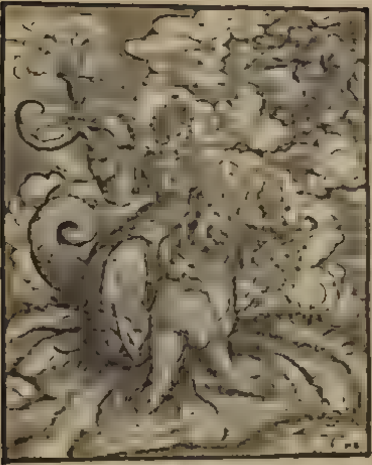
[illegible] We read in the Revelation (17:1ff.):

Come hither; I will shew unto thee the judgment of the great whore that sitteth upon many waters:
With whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication.
So he carried me away in the spirit into the wilderness: and I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns.
And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication:
And upon her forehead was a name written, Mystery, Babylon the Great, the Mother of Harlots and Abominations of the Earth.
And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus: and when I saw her, I wondered with great admiration. [illegible] Fig. 22

314 Although [illegible] interpretation of [illegible] points [illegible] that the seven heads of the [illegible] are seven mountains on which the woman sitteth. This is probably a direct allusion to Rome, the city whose temporal power oppressed the world at that time. The waters whereon the woman sits are "peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues." This too seems to refer to Rome, for she is the mother of the peoples and possesses all lands. Just as colonies are called daughters, so the peoples subject to Rome are like members of a family ruled over by the mother. In another scene the kings of the earth, i.e., the "sons," commit fornication with her. The Apocalypse continues (18:2ff.):

Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird.
For all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her.

315 This mother [illegible] is not only the mother of all abominations, but the receptacle of all that is wicked and unclean. The



New Testa[illegible]

[illegible] …als wear feather-dresses like

[illegible] …els, in Bruges, there is a monu[illegible] which [illegible] …mother of God, standing with the *lower* half of her body in a dragon.

every heroic hunter [illegible] is the symbol of the Terrible Mother [illegible] her devour[illegible] [illegible] with her wine of [illegible] [illegible] associated with forms a [illegible] as we have already seen in the soma-fire-sun parallel.

316 [illegible] we find the hymn Rev. [illegible] from the [illegible] mother to [illegible] would have made [illegible] passage:

[illegible]
[illegible] the marr[illegible] herself ready.
[illegible] arrayed in fine linen [illegible] is the righteousness of saints.
And he saith [illegible] are they which are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb.

[illegible] a reminiscence of the obsolete [illegible] The [illegible] annual [illegible] in Argos in honour of [illegible] was sung [illegible] of Psamathe and [illegible] her mother from fear of her father Crotopus [illegible] Argos [illegible] a lament on the [illegible] was also paid to Psamathe. The [illegible] In Egypt [illegible] was called Maneros [illegible] name Maneros comes from [illegible] the [illegible] these myths [illegible] where she [illegible] woman was [illegible] massacre of [illegible] Cf. Bergk [illegible] refers to the [illegible] death of [illegible] the following [illegible] Psamathe was brought her to [illegible] wept back [illegible] the sea. Here Leto [illegible]

317 The Lamb is the Son of Man [illegible] with the woman. Who the woman is [illegible] at first, but Rev. 21 [illegible] the Lamb's wife:

Come hither, I will shew thee the bride, the Lamb's wife.
And he carried me away in the [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] heaven from God. [illegible]

318 After all that has gone before, it is evident from this passage that the City, the heavenly bride [illegible] is the mother [illegible] maid was cast out [illegible] Jerusalem. [illegible] the Apocalypse [illegible] Christ [illegible] the heavenly Jerusalem [illegible] doubt (Rev. 22 : 1f.):

And he shewed me [illegible] proceeding [illegible]

[illegible]

In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations.

And there shall be no more curse.

320 In this passage we meet the water symbolism which we found connected with the city in the case of Ogyges. The maternal significance of water is one of the clearest interpretations of symbols in the whole field of mythology,[1] so that even the ancient Greeks could say that "the sea is the symbol of generation." From water comes life; hence, of the two deities who here interest us most, Christ and Mithras, the latter is represented as having been born[2] beside a river, while Christ experienced his "rebirth" in the Jordan. Christ, moreover, was born of the Pege, the "sempiterni fons amoris," the Mother of God, whom the heathen-Christian legend turned into a nymph of a spring. The "spring" is also found in Mithraism. A Pannonian dedication reads "Fonti perenni." An inscription from Apulum is dedicated to the "Fons aeternus." In Persian, Ardvisura is the fountain of the water of life. Ardvisura-Anahita is a goddess of water and love (just as Aphrodite is "foam-born"). In the Vedas, the waters are called matritamah, "the most maternal." All living things rise, like the sun, from water, and sink into it again at evening. Born of springs, rivers, and seas, man at death arrives at the waters of the Styx in order to embark on the "night sea journey." Those black waters of death are the water of life, for death with its cold embrace is the maternal womb, just as the sea devours the sun but brings it forth again. Life knows no death; as the Earth Spirit says in *Faust*:

In flood of life, in action's storm
I ply on my wave
With weaving motion
Birth and the grave,
A boundless ocean.

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[1] [illegible] grail and Abraham, *Dreams and Myths*, p. 89.

[2] [illegible] of [illegible] are also by the name of [illegible] of J[illegible] [illegible] *Trans.* [illegible]

Ceaselessly giving
Weft of living
Forms unending,
Glowing and blending. . . .[21]

320 [illegible]

321 [illegible]

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[21] Part I, trans. by Wayne, p. 48.

[22] See my *Psychological Types*, Def. 50.

[23] [illegible]
Astarte, etc.

[illegible] Φαλλῆνος (from φαλλός) means "wooden." φαλ-άγγωμα is a cylinder, φάλαγξ a round beam. The Macedonian shock-troops drawn up in battle array were also known as a phalanx, and so is the finger joint.[24] Finally we have to consider φαλός, bright, shining. The Indo-European root is *bhale, "to bulge, swell."[25] Who does not think of Faust's "It grows, it shines, increases in my hand!"[26]

322 This is primitive libido symbolism, which shows how direct is the connection between libido and light. We find much the same thing in the invocations to Rudra in the Rig-Veda.

May we obtain the favour of thee, O ruler of heroes, maker of bountiful water [i.e., urine]. . . .

We call down for help the fiery Rudra, who fulfils the sacrifice, the seer who circles in the sky.

He who yields sweetness, who hears our invocations, the ruddy-hued with the gorgeous helm, let him not deliver us into the power of jealousy.

The bull of the Maruts has gladdened me, the suppliant, with more vigorous health. . . .

Let a great hymn of praise resound to the ruddy-brown bull, the white-shining sun. Let us worship the fiery god with prostrations, let us sing of the glorious being of Rudra.

May the arrow of Rudra be turned from us, may the anger of the fiery god pass us by. [illegible] the firm bow [illegible] the princes, thou who blessest with the waters, [illegible] be gracious to our children and grandchildren.[27]

323 Here the various aspects of the psychic life-force, of the extraordinarily potent, the personified mana-concept, come together in the figure of Rudra: the fiery white sun, the gorgeous helm, the puissant bull, and the urine (urere, "to burn").

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[24] For the symbolism of the finger joint, see my remarks on the dactyls, pars. 180–83. Here I would like to add the following from a Bakairi myth: "Nimagakaniro swallowed two Bakairi finger-bones. There were many of these lying about in her house, because Oka had used them for tipping his arrows, and killed many Bakairi and ate their flesh. From these finger-bones, and not from Oka, the woman became pregnant." (Frobenius, p. 236.)

[25] Further evidence in Prellwitz, *Wörterbuch*, p. 30. [26] [Cf. par. 180, above.]

[27] Respectively, in I, 114: 3 and 4, and II, 33: 5, 6, 8, and 14. Trans. from Siecke, "Der Gott Rudra im Rigveda," pp. 237ff.

324 Not only the gods but the goddesses, too, are libido-symbols when regarded from the point of view of energism. The libido expresses itself in images of sun, light, fire, sex, fertility, and growth. In this way the goddesses, as we have seen, come to possess phallic symbols, even though these are essentially masculine. One of the main reasons for this is that, just as the female lies hidden in the male (pl. XXX), so the male lies hidden in the female.[28] The feminine quality of the tree that represents the goddess (cf. pl. XXXI) is contaminated with phallic symbolism, as is evident from the genealogical tree that grows out of Adam's body. In my *Psychology and Alchemy* I have reproduced from a manuscript in Florence a picture of Adam showing the virile member as a tree.[29] Thus the tree has a bisexual character, as is also suggested by the fact that in Latin the names of trees have masculine endings and the feminine gender.[30]

325 The tree in the following dream of a young woman patient brings out this bisexual symbolism:[31] *She was in a garden, and there she found an exotic-looking tree with strange red fleshy flowers or fruits. She picked and ate them. Then, to her horror, she felt that she was poisoned.*

326 As a result of sexual difficulties in her marriage, the dreamer's fancy had been much taken by a certain young man of her acquaintance. The tree is the same tree that stood in Paradise, and it plays the same role in this dream as it did for our first parents. It is the tree of libido, which here represents the feminine as well as the masculine side, because it simply expresses the relationship of the two to one another.

327 A Norwegian riddle runs:

A tree stands on the Billinsberg,
Drooping over a lake,
Its branches shine like gold,
You won't guess that today.

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[28] Cf. the anima/animus theory in my later writings.

[29] *Psychology and Alchemy*, fig. 131.

[30] The fig-tree is phallic. It is worth noting that Dionysus planted a fig-tree at the entrance to Hades, in the same way that phalloi were placed on graves. The cypress, sacred to Aphrodite the Cyprian, became an emblem of death and used to be placed at the door of houses where people were dying.

[31] Concerning hermaphroditism, see *Psychology and Alchemy*, index, s.v. "hermaphrodite."

328 In the [illegible] sun's [illegible] the [illegible]

Bitterly weeps the sun-child
In the apple orchard
From the apple-tree has fallen
The golden apple.
Weep not, sun-child,
God will make another
Of gold or bronze,
Or a little silver one.

329 The [illegible] the tree [illegible] Paradise, [illegible]

[illegible] is tied to the mother

330 The [illegible] and tree [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] And [illegible] There shall be no more [illegible], no more [illegible] no fear of death and no pain of separation, because [illegible] marriage [illegible] the son is united with the [illegible] bliss is attained. This symbol recurs [illegible] the *coniunctio* of alchemy.[83]

353 Just as the Apocalypse dies away on that same note of radiant, mystical promise, which was re-echoed some two thousand years later in the last prayer of Doctor Marianus:

O contrite hearts, seek with your eyes
  The visage of salvation,
Blissful in that gaze, arise
  Through glad regeneration.
Now may every pulse of good
  Seek to serve before thy face,
Virgin, Queen of Motherhood,
  Keep us, Goddess, in thy grace.[84]

354 The perfect beauty and nobility of these feelings raises in our minds a question of principle: Was the causal interpretation of Freud correct in believing that symbol-formation is to be explained solely by prevention of the primary incest tendency, and is thus a mere substitute product? The so-called incest prohibition which is supposed to operate here is not in itself a primary phenomenon, but goes back to something much more fundamental, namely the primitive system of marriage classes which, in its turn, is a vital necessity in the organization of the tribe. So it is more a question of phenomena requiring a teleological explanation than of simple causalities. Moreover it must be pointed out that the basis of the "incestuous" desire is not cohabitation, but, as every sun myth shows, the strange idea of

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[illegible] which a Palestinian cult perhaps [illegible] figures in [illegible] of [illegible] and son [illegible] a mythic [illegible] a natural [illegible] in early [illegible] which [illegible] with a difference in the [illegible] of Mithras [illegible] and [illegible] who are connected with Mother [illegible] and [illegible] a [illegible] of a [illegible] the mother and consort being at times identified.

[83] Cf. "The Psychology of the Transference" and *Mysterium Coniunctionis*, ch. 6.—Editors.

[84] *Faust*, Part II, Act 5, trans. by Wayne, p. 288.

[illegible]

[illegible] myth of the swan-maiden.

[illegible]

ment gives us an excellent example of this in the dialogue about rebirth (John 3:4ff.). Nicodemus cannot help taking the matter realistically:

How can a man be born when he is old? Can he enter the second time into his mother's womb, and be born?

333 Jesus tries to purify the sensuous cast of Nicodemus' mind by rousing it from its dense materiality, and so he translates the passage into the same, and yet not the same, words:

> Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.
> *That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit.*
> Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born again.
> *The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth:* so is every one that is born of the Spirit.

334 To be born of water simply means to be born of the mother's womb; to be born of the Spirit means to be born of the fructifying breath of the wind, as can be seen from the Greek text of the passages italicized above, where spirit and wind are expressed by the same word, πνεῦμα: "τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς σάρξ ἐστιν, καὶ τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος πνεῦμά ἐστιν. . . . Τὸ πνεῦμα ὅπου θέλει πνεῖ."

335 This symbolism rose from the same need as that which produced the Egyptian legend of the vultures: they were female only and were fertilized by the wind. The basis of these mythological statements is an ethical demand which can be formulated thus: you should not say that your mother was impregnated by a man in the ordinary way, but was impregnated in some extraordinary way by a spiritual being. As this statement is in complete contrast to the empirical truth, the myth bridges over the difficulty by analogy: the son is said to have been a hero who died, was born again in a remarkable manner, and thus attained to immortality. The need responsible for this statement is evidently a desire to transcend reality. A son may naturally believe that a father begot him in the flesh, but not that he himself can impregnate his mother and so cause himself to be born young again. Such a thought is prohibited by the danger of regression, and is therefore replaced by the above demand that

one [illegible] express the problem [illegible] We see [illegible] in [illegible] Nicodemus. [illegible] will be [illegible] He [illegible] had been [illegible] he would certainly have [illegible] and [illegible] as [illegible] The reason was [illegible] they express [illegible] from [illegible] that [illegible] was always [illegible] water [illegible] a new [illegible] as a spiritual [illegible] has become the [illegible] of saints [illegible] Church [illegible] and [illegible] are [illegible] was [illegible] necessary at the time [illegible] as a [illegible] the unity of mankind.

33[illegible] When we see [illegible] to make the [illegible] Nicodemus, as [illegible] was an [illegible] this was [illegible] with [illegible] as necessary [illegible] away from [illegible] and [illegible] of symbols [illegible], namely the religious, have [illegible] to write his biography are [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] his world.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] as we have said, they must be [illegible]

[illegible] flowed.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

340 [illegible]

[illegible] It is only with [illegible] that our [illegible] Hence a way has to be found which will make it possible for man to accept spiritually the substance of the Christian message.

340 At a time when a large part of mankind is beginning to discard Christianity, it may be worth our while to try to understand why it was accepted in the first place. It was accepted as a means of escape from the brutality and unconsciousness of the ancient world. As soon as we discard it, licentiousness returns, as has been impressively demonstrated by contemporary events. This is not a step forwards, but a long step backwards into the past. It is the same with individuals who lay aside some form of adaptation and have no new form to turn to: they infallibly regress along the old path and then find themselves at a great disadvantage, because the world around them has changed considerably in the meantime. Consequently, anyone who is repelled by the philosophical weakness of Christian dogmatism or by the barren idea of a merely historical Jesus—for we know far too little about his contradictory personality and the little we do know only confuses our judgment—and who turns away from Christianity and with it from Christian morality, is bound to be confronted with the age-old problem of libertinism. We have had bitter experience of what happens when a whole nation finds the moral mask too stupid to keep up. The beast breaks loose, and a frenzy of demoralization sweeps over the civilized world.[35]

341 There are [illegible] who are neurotic simply because they do not know why they cannot be happy in their own way—they do not even know that the fault lies with them. Besides these neurotics there are many more normal people, men and women of the better kind, who feel restricted and discontented because they have no symbol which would act as an outlet for their libido. For all these people a reductive analysis down to the primal facts should be undertaken, so that they can become acquainted with their primitive personality and learn how to take due account of it. Only in this way can cer-

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[35] [Cf. Jung's "Wotan."—EDITORS.]

[illegible] of faith.

343 [illegible]

344 [illegible]

[illegible] III (d), on symbol formation (para. 588ff.).

[illegible] experience [illegible] In fact [illegible] question [illegible] [illegible] the elements of the [illegible] [illegible] faith [illegible] [illegible] productive of faith.

345 [illegible] faith must always rest on experience. [illegible] faith [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] culture [illegible] [illegible] faith [illegible]

346 [illegible] must be to understand [illegible]

[illegible] totality of the psyche.

[illegible]

[illegible] symbolism.

[illegible]

[illegible] *De Iside et Osiride*, in Babbitt trans., pp. 51–53

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[40] *Faust*, Part I, trans. by Wayne, p. 75, modified.

[illegible] a poisonous snake [illegible] From [illegible] heavenly [illegible]

But [illegible] happenings [illegible] parents [illegible]

[illegible]

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41 Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 265.

42 [illegible] allowed a regressive outlet.

[illegible] becomes inevitable.

452 [illegible] Mother.[illegible]

453 [illegible]

[illegible] Frobenius, *Zeitalter* [illegible]

[illegible]

the dead god, and his *εὕρεσις*, finding, was celebrated as a feast of joy.

354 Later on Set discovered the body and scattered the pieces. We find this motif of dismemberment in numerous sun myths[35] as a contrast to the putting together of the child in the mother's womb. And actually Isis collects the pieces together again with the help of the jackal-headed Anubis. Here the dogs and jackals, devourers of corpses by night, assist in the reconstitution or reproduction of Osiris.[36] To this necrophagous function the Egyptian vulture probably owes its symbolic mother significance. In ancient times the Persians used to throw out their corpses for the dogs to devour, just as, today, in Tibet, the dead are left to the vultures,[36a] and in Bombay, where the Parsis expose their corpses on the "towers of silence." The Persians had the custom

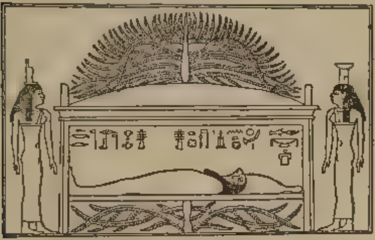

Fig. 25. Osiris in the cedar-coffin
Relief, Dendera, Egypt

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[35] Spielrein (pp. 358ff.) found numerous allusions to this motif in an insane patient: "the organs of different things and inseparably were 'cooked' into a mass." "The ashes can turn into a man," said the patient, and she saw "dismembered children in glass coffins."

[36] Demeter collected the limbs of the dismembered Dionysus and put him together again.

[36a] [Cf. Harrer, *Seven Years in Tibet*, p. 64.—EDITORS.]

[illegible] leaping away from him

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker* moon-goddess suggests that she was a protectress of growth. Hecate was [illegible] Demeter [illegible] her search for her daughter, and her [illegible] of Anubis. Dog sacrifices were also offered to Eileithyia, the goddess of birth, and Hecate herself [illegible] is, on occasion, a goddess of marriage and birth. The dog is also the regular companion of Aesculapius, the god of healing, who, while still a mortal, raised a man from the dead and was struck by a thunderbolt as a punishment. These associations help to explain the following passage in Petronius:

> I earnestly beseech you to paint a small dog round the feet of my statue . . . so that by your kindness I may attain to life after death.[49]

356 But to return to the myth of Osiris: although Isis had managed to collect the pieces of the body, its resuscitation was only partially successful because the phallus could not be found; it had been eaten by the fishes, and the reconstituted body lacked vital force.[50] The phantom Osiris lay once more with Isis, but the fruit of their union was Harpocrates, who was weak in the lower limbs, i.e., in the feet. In the above-mentioned hymn, Ra was wounded in the foot by the serpent of Isis. The foot, as the organ nearest the earth, represents in dreams the relation to earthly reality and often has a generative or phallic significance.[51] The name Oedipus, "Swellfoot," is suspicious in this respect. Osiris, although only a phantom, now makes the young sun, his son Horus, ready for battle with Set, the evil spirit of darkness. Osiris and Horus represent the father-son symbolism mentioned at the beginning. Osiris is thus flanked by the comely Horus and the misshapen Harpocrates, who is mostly shown as a cripple, sometimes distorted to the point of

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[49] Satyricon, ch. 71 (cf. Heseltine trans., pp. [illegible]): "Valde te rogo ut secundum pedes statuae meae catellam pingas . . . ut mihi contingat tuo beneficio post mortem vivere."

[50] Frobenius (Zeitalter [illegible], p. [illegible]) observes that the fire gods [illegible] have a limb missing. He gives the following parallel: "Just as the god [illegible] the [illegible] so [illegible] the eye of the [illegible] [illegible] the sun [illegible] sky [illegible] g of the [illegible] and [illegible] of [illegible] which [illegible] mighty connects with fire-kindling. The mutilation is a castration in the case of Attis and something similar in the case of Osiris.

[51] Cf. Aigremont, *Fuss- und Schuhsymbolik.*

freakishness. It is just possible that the motif of the unequal brothers has something to do with the primitive conception that the placenta is the twin brother of the new-born child.

357 Osiris is frequently confused in tradition with Horus. The latter's real name is Hor-pi-chrud,[53] which is composed of [illegible] and *Hor*, from *her*, "up, above, on top." Hor therefore signifies the "up-and-coming child," the rising sun as opposed to Osiris, who personifies the setting sun, the sun "in the Western Land." So Osiris and Hor-pi-chrud are one being, both husband and son of the same mother. Khnum-Ra, the sun-god of Lower Egypt, is a ram, and his consort, the female divinity of the nome, is Hatmehit, who wears the fish on her head. She is the mother and wife of Bi-neb-did (the ram), the local name for Khnum-Ra. In the hymn of Hibis, Amon-Ra is invoked as follows:

The Ram dwelleth in Mendes, united as the fourfold god Thmuis. He is the phallus, lord of the gods. The bull of his mother rejoices in the cow, and the husband makes fertile by his seed.

358 In other inscriptions[54] Hatmehit is called the "mother of Mendes." (Mendes is the Greek form of Bi-neb-did.) She is invoked as "The Good," with the additional meaning of *ta-nofert*, "young woman." The cow as a mother-symbol appears in all the manifold forms and variations of Hathor-Isis (pl. XXXb), and especially in the feminine Nun (parallel to the primordial goddess Nit or Neith), the moist substance which is both masculine and feminine. Hence Nun is invoked as "Amon, the primordial waters,[55] which was in the beginning." He is also called the "father of fathers, the mother of mothers." The corresponding invocation to Nit or Neith, the feminine aspect of Nun-Amon, says:

Nit, the Ancient, the Mother of God, Mistress of Esne, Father of Fathers, Mother of Mothers, who is the Scarab and the Vulture, who was in the beginning.

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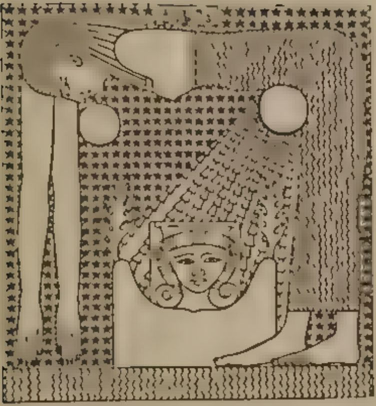
[53] Brugsch, Religion und Mythologie der alten Ägypter, p. [illegible]

[54] Ibid., p. 310. [55] Ibid., p. 310. [56] Ibid., pp. 112ff.

[57] [illegible] gether until the sun separates them.

[illegible]



[illegible]

[illegible]

From her sprang Nut, the sky goddess, who is represented with a starry body or as a heavenly cow dotted with stars (figs. 24, 25).

359 So when the sun-god Ra retires on the back of the heavenly cow, it means that he is going back into the mother in order to rise again as Horus. In the morning the goddess is the mother, at noon she is the sister-wife, and at evening once more the mother who takes back the dead into her womb.

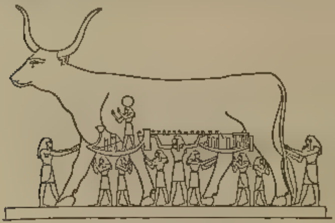


Fig. 25. The Divine Cow
From the tomb of Seti I, Egypt

360 Thus the fate of Osiris is explained: he enters into the mother's womb, into the coffer, the sea, the tree, the Astarte column; is dismembered, put together again, and reappears in his son Horpechrud.

361 Before we enter upon the other mysteries which this myth has in store for us, it will be as well to say a few words more about the symbol of the tree. Osiris comes to rest in the branches of a tree, which grow up round him.[80] The motif of embracing and entwining is often found in the sun myths and rebirth myths, as in the story of Sleeping Beauty, or the legend of the girl who was imprisoned between the bark and the wood of a tree.[81] A primitive myth tells of a sun-hero who has to be

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[80] Cf. the similar motif in the Egyptian "Tale of the Two Brothers." Erman, *Literature*, p. 158.

[81] Cf. a Jutland folksong, mentioned in Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, II, p. 653.

freed from a creeping plant.[81] [illegible] that her [illegible] has [illegible] to rescue him [illegible] In a Polynesian myth the hero's canoe is caught in the tentacles of a giant octopus, just as Ra's barge was encircled by the night sea-serpent on the night sea-journey. The motif of the winding also occurs in Sir Edwin Arnold's poetic version of the story of Buddha's birth:

Queen Maya stood at noon, her days fulfilled,
Under a palsa in the palace-grounds,
A stately trunk, straight as a temple-shaft,
With crown of glossy leaves and fragrant blooms;
And, knowing the time come—for all things knew—
The conscious tree bent down its boughs to make
A bower about Queen Maya's majesty:
And Earth put forth a thousand sudden flowers
To spread a couch, while, ready for the bath,
The rock hard by gave out a limpid stream
Of crystal flow. So brought she forth her child.[82]

369 There is a very similar motif in the cult legend of the Samian Hera. Every year her image "disappeared" from the temple, and was fastened to a lygos tree somewhere on the seashore and wrapped round with its branches. There it was "found" and regaled with wedding-cakes. This festival was undoubtedly a *hieros gamos*, for in Samos there was a legend that Zeus had previously had a long, secret love-affair with Hera. In Plataea and Argos, the marriage procession was enacted, with bridesmaids, wedding feast, etc. The festival took place in the "wedding month" (Gamelion, beginning of February). The image was carried to a lonely spot in the woods, which is in keeping with Plutarch's story that Zeus kidnapped Hera and hid her in a cave on Mount Cithaeron. After our previous remarks we have to conclude that there is still another

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[81] Frobenius, *Zeitalter*, [illegible]

[82] *The Light of Asia*, p. [illegible] Cf. the birth of the Germanic king Aschanes, where [illegible]

transformation connected with the *hieros gamos*, namely, the rejuvenation of Hera. The [illegible] strange [illegible] image [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] 63 [illegible] this [illegible] and [illegible]. The [illegible] springtime [illegible] fits in very well with this theory. In fact Pausanias[64] tells us that the Argive Hera became a virgin again by bathing every year in the spring of Kanathos. The significance of this bath is further increased by the report that in the Plataean cult of Hera Teleia, Tritonian nymphs appeared as water-carriers. The Iliad [illegible] Zeus's [illegible] on Mount Ida as follows:

> As he spoke the Son of Cronos took his wife in his arms; and the gracious earth sent up fresh grass beneath them, dewy lotus and crocuses, and a soft and crowded bed of hyacinths, to lift them off the ground. In this they lay, covered by a beautiful golden cloud, from which a rain of glistening dewdrops fell. Thus the Father slept peacefully on top of Gargarus with his arms round his wife, conquered by sleep and love. . . .[65]

364 Drexler sees in this a reference to the garden of the gods on the extreme Western shore of the ocean—an idea which might have been taken from a pre-Homeric *hieros gamos* hymn.[67] The Western land is the land of the setting sun: Heracles and Gilgamesh hasten thither, where the sun and the maternal sea are united in an eternally rejuvenating embrace. This seems to confirm our conjecture that the *hieros gamos* is connected with a rebirth myth. Pausanias mentions a related myth fragment which says that the image of Artemis Orthia was also called *Lygodesma* (willow-captive),[68] because it was found in a willow-tree. There seems to be some connection here with the popular Greek festival of the *hieros gamos* and its above-mentioned customs.

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[63] Λύγος means [illegible] and [illegible] and λυγόω means to twist, plait, weave.

[64] *Description of Greece*, II, 38, 2.

[65] Book XIV, 346–51, trans. by Rieu, p. 266.

[66] [illegible] enough [illegible] XIV [illegible] there is a description of Sleep [illegible] the branches with their sharp needles [illegible] of a song [illegible]. It looks as if [illegible] the *hieros gamos*. Cf. also the [illegible] Ares and Aphrodite on [illegible] and kept them there for [illegible] of the gods.

[67] See Roscher, *Lexikon*, I, 2, col. 3[illegible].

[68] Pausanias, III, 16, 11.

365 The motif of devouring (pls. [illegible]), which Frobenius has shown to be one of the commonest components of the sun myth, is closely connected with embracing and entwining. The whale-dragon always devours the hero, but the devouring can also be partial. For instance, a six-year-old girl who hated going to school, once dreamt that her leg was encircled by a large red worm. Contrary to what one might have expected, she evinced a tender interest in the creature. Again, an adult patient who was unable to separate from an older woman friend on account of a strong mother-transference to her, dreamt that she had to cross a broad stream. There was no bridge, but she found a place where she could step across. Just as she was about to do so, a large crab that lay hidden in the water seized her by the foot and would not let go.[69]

366 This picture is borne out by etymology. There is an Indo-European root [illegible] [illegible] winding, [illegible]. From this are derived: Skr. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] creeping plant; [illegible] boa-constrictor [illegible] Lat. [illegible] [illegible] Church Slav. [illegible] OHG. [illegible] a wave. [illegible] [illegible] Skr. [illegible] has the same [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] plant.' The same root also has the meaning [illegible] Skr. [illegible] [illegible] Goth. [illegible] OHG. and MHG. [illegible] It is typical that the same root [illegible] [illegible] the heat [illegible] [illegible] ing, to sound,'[71] and 'to will, wish.'

367 The motif of entwining is a mother-symbol.[72] The entwin-

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[69] See [illegible] the Psychology of the [illegible] pars. [illegible] and [illegible]ff.

[70] Fick, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 130f.

[71] Cf. [illegible] pag. 25.

[72] [illegible] also [illegible] The hero of [illegible] has [illegible] In [illegible] passage the [illegible] of the [illegible] Schiller uses this image in his poem [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible]

ing trees are at the same time life-giving mothers [illegible] (pl. XXXV), as in the Greek myths, where the meliae or ash-trees are the mothers of the men of the Bronze Age. The Bundahish symbolizes the first human beings, Mashya and Mashyoi, as the tree Rivas. According to a Norse myth, God created man by breathing life into a [illegible] [illegible] wood. In the wood of the world-ash Yggdrasil a human pair conceal themselves at the end of the world, and from them will spring a new race of men.[29] At the moment of universal destruction the world-ash becomes the guardian mother, the tree pregnant with death and life.[30] The regenerative function of the world-ash helps to explain the [illegible] chapter of the Egyptian Book of the Dead [illegible] The Chapter of Knowledge of the Souls of the East:

I am the pilot in the holy keel, I am the steersman who taketh no rest in the ship of Ra.[31] I know the tree of emerald green from whose midst Ra riseth to the height of the clouds.[32]

368 Ship and tree [illegible] are closely connected here (Pl. XXXV). [illegible] Ra rises up, born from the tree. The representation of the sun and Mithras should probably be interpreted in the same way. In the Hedd

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[illegible]

[illegible] earth, wood, and water. [illegible] Tree of Death. [illegible]

[illegible] the Steingeburtsagen," pp. 50ff.

[illegible]

The Cross of Christ.

The legend of [illegible]

Cited in Zöckler, p. [illegible]

[illegible] shadow [illegible]

[illegible] a [illegible] one who was [illegible] Paradise after the Fall saw the tree [illegible] was withered [illegible] had [illegible].[84]

[illegible] Jewish tradition that [illegible] himself in the [illegible] men and kidnapped [illegible] that of the lamias, the [illegible] that Lamia seduce[illegible] the name of a large, [illegible] motif [illegible] Once again we meet the idea of the Terrible Mother in the form of a voracious fish, a personification [illegible] In Frobenius there are numerous examples of [illegible]

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[84] [illegible]ng to German legend (Grimm, III, p. 969) the saviour will be born when he can be rocked in a cradle made from the wood of a tree that is now but a feeble shoot sp[illegible] brought from life to death by the sword, and then will salvation ensue." It is [illegible] of the future event is con[illegible] "branch" or a "rod."

[85] Here we may discern, perhaps, the motif of the "helpful bird": angels are really birds. Cf. the feather-dress of the "soul-birds" in the underworld. In the [illegible] The symbolism of the three angels is important because it signifies the upper, aerial, [illegible]

[86] [illegible] a tripod with feet in the [illegible]

[illegible] the hero to a glorious rebirth.

[illegible]

[illegible] III, p. 1246

the Mara rode him to death in sleep.[83] A well-known form of the night-mare is the "Stempe" or "treader." The treading movement has been verified in the experience of [illegible] children, [illegible] a secondary sexual meaning, attaches to stamping or kicking, though the rhythm is obviously primary. Like the Mara, the "Stempe" treads.[84]

371 The Indo-European root *mer, *mor means "to die." From it come the Latin mors, Greek μόρος (fate), and possibly Moira, the goddess of fate.[85] The Norns who sit under the world-ash are well-known personifications of fate, like Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos. With the Celts the conception of the Fates probably passes into that of the *matres* and *matronae*,[86] who were considered divine by the Teutons. The divine significance of the matrons comes out in Julius Caesar, where he says: "The matrons should declare by lots and divinations whether it was expedient to join battle or not."[87]

372 In connection with the etymology of Mar and [illegible] mare, it should be added that *mare* has a strong phonetic resemblance to mare, although this is [illegible] etymologically speaking proves nothing. In Slavonic, *mara* means "witch"; in Polish, *mora* means nightmare. *Mar* or *Mare* in Swiss-German means "sow" (it is also used as a swear-word). The Czech *mura* means both nightmare and the Sphinx or hawk moth. This strange connection is explained by the fact that the butterfly is a symbol [illegible]. The Sphinx [illegible] they come like the nightmare in darkness. Finally, it should be mentioned that the sacred olive tree of Athene was called μορία, which is derived from μόρος. Halirrhothius wanted to cut down the tree but killed himself with the axe in the attempt.

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[83] Grimm, III, p. 1246. From the Ynglinga Saga, 16.

[84] [illegible] that the Stempe [illegible] nightmare figure [illegible].

[85] Herrmann, *Nordische Mythologie*, p. 64, and [illegible] etymological [illegible].

[86] Grimm, I, p. 417.

[87] *The Gallic War*, I, 50, [illegible].

353 The phonetic connection between *Mar*, *mère*, and the various words for sea [illegible] is certainly remarkable, though it may be purely accidental. May it perhaps point back to the great primordial image of the mother, who was once our only world and later became the symbol of the whole world? Goethe said of the Mothers that they are "enthroned amid the images of all creation."[48] Even the Christians could not refrain from reuniting their Mother of God with the water. "Ave maris stella" are the opening words of a hymn to Mary. It is probably significant that the infantile word "mama" [illegible] is found in all languages, and that the mothers of two religious heroes were called Mary and Maya. That the mother is the horse of the child is apparent in the primitive custom of carrying the child on one's back or riding it on one's hip. And Odin hung upon the maternal world ash, upon his "terrible horse."[49]

354 As we have seen, Isis, the mother of the gods, played an evil trick [illegible] and according to Plutarch she [illegible] Horus. Horus [illegible] Set [illegible] Horus [illegible] against his mother and [illegible] whereupon [illegible] gave her a [illegible] (cf. pl. XXX). Horus then vanquished Set for a second time. In the Greek legend, Typhon [illegible] is a dragon. But even without [illegible] that Horus [illegible] the [illegible] dragon, which, as we know, is a symbol of the Terrible Mother. [illegible] may be [illegible] (cf. pl. XXX). [illegible] he must [illegible] the heels of the monster [illegible]

---

[48] Cf. p. 316, above.

[49] [illegible] land of death.

[illegible]

[illegible] and so born there for some time (night sea imprisonment [illegible]). (Cf. [illegible], p. 210, pl. xx.)

375 The [illegible] maternal serpent accordingly signifies [illegible] her [illegible] is suspected of an infamous crime, namely the betrayal of her son. Complete confirmation of all this is furnished by the fragments of the Babylonian Creation Epic discovered by George Smith, most of which come from the library of Assurbanipal. The text dates from about the time of Hammurabi (2000 B.C.). From this account of the Creation we learn that Ea, the son of the watery deep and god of wisdom,[62] [illegible] Apsu. Apsu is the progenitor of the great gods, so Ea [illegible] the father. But Tiamat, the mother of the gods, plots revenge and arrays herself for battle against them.

Mother Hubur, who created everything,
Procured [illegible] weapons, gave birth to giant snakes
Sharp of tooth, unsparing of fang;
Filled their bodies with venom instead of blood.
Roaring dragons she clothed with terror,
[illegible] with a terrible [illegible], made them to prance
So that [illegible] them [illegible] perish [illegible] terror,
Their bodies shall rear up and none shall turn them back.
She set up [illegible], dragons, and sphinxes,
Hurricanes, mad dogs, scorpion-men,
Lion-demons, fish-men, and centaurs,
Bearing weapons that spare not, fearless in battle.
Mighty are Tiamat's commands, irresistible are they.

And when Tiamat had completed her handiwork
She prepared for battle against the gods, her descendants.
To avenge Apsu, Tiamat did evil.

When Ea now heard this thing
He was sore afraid, and he sat down sorrowfully.

He went to the Father, his creator, Anshar,
To tell him all that Tiamat plotted:
"Tiamat, our mother, is incensed against us,
She has assembled a [illegible], furiously raging."[63]

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[62] Ea [illegible] the abyss of wisdom [illegible] of wisdom, source of fantasies, see par. 630, below.

[63] [illegible] this and the following passages based on Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte*, [illegible] 48 [illegible] E. A. Speiser in Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, pp. 62–67.

376 Against the fearful hosts of Tiamat the gods finally put up Marduk, the god of spring, who represents the victorious sun. Marduk prepares himself for battle and forges his invincible weapons:

He created the evil wind, Imhullu, the south wind and the hurricane,
The fourfold wind, the sevenfold wind, the whirlwind, and the harmful wind,
Then he let loose the winds he had brought forth, all seven of them,
To stir up confusion in Tiamat's vitals, they followed behind him.
Then the Lord raised up the cyclone, his mighty weapon;
For his chariot he mounted the storm-wind, matchless and terrible.

377 His chief weapons are the wind and a net with which he hopes to catch Tiamat. He approaches Tiamat and challenges her to single combat.[105]

Then Tiamat and Marduk, the wise one among the gods, joined issue,
Girding their loins for the fight, drawing near for battle.
Then the Lord spread out his net and entangled her,
Imhullu, which followed behind, he let loose in her face.
When Tiamat opened her mouth as wide as she could to consume him,
He let Imhullu rush in and her lips could not close.
With the raging winds he filled her belly,
Her inward parts were seized and she opened wide her mouth.
He smote her with the spear, he hewed her in pieces,
He cut up her bowels and made mincemeat of her heart,
Vanquished her and put an end to her life,
Threw down her carcass and trampled upon it.

378 After Marduk had slain Tiamat, he sat down and planned the creation of the world.

Then the Lord paused to contemplate her dead body,
That he might divide up the monster and devise artful works.
He split her like a flat fish into two parts;[106]
One half he set up and with it he covered the sky.

379 In this manner Marduk created the world from the mother. Cf. fig. 21. Evidently the killing of the mother-dragon here takes the form of a negative wind-fertilization. The world is

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[105] "Then the Lord approached, looking for the middle of Tiamat."

[106] Splitting of the mother of Kaineus, pars. 439f., 460, 480, fig. 38, below.

create, from the mother, i.e., with the libido that was withdrawn from her through the sacrifice and through prevention of the regression that threatened to overcome the hero. We shall have to examine this significant formula more closely in the final chapter. As Gunkel[106] has pointed out, the myth has interesting parallels in the literature of the Old Testament. Isaiah 51:9f. says:[106a]

> Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord; awake, as in the days of old, the generations of long ago. Was it not thou that didst cut Rahab in pieces, that didst pierce the dragon?
>
> Was it not thou that didst dry up the sea, the waters of the great deep; that didst make the depths of the sea a way for the redeemed to pass over?

380 The name Rahab is frequently used for Egypt in the Old Testament (cf. Isaiah 30:7: Egypt is called "Rahab who sits still"), and also for dragon; it therefore meant something evil and hostile. Rahab appears here as the old dragon Tiamat, against whose evil power Marduk or Yahweh goes forth to battle. The term "the redeemed" refers to the children of Israel who were delivered from bondage, but it is also mythological, because the hero sets free those who had previously been devoured by the whale-dragon (Frobenius).

381 Psalm 89:10:

> Thou didst crush Rahab like a carcass.

382 Job 26:12f.:

> By his power he stilled the sea;
> by his understanding he smote Rahab.
> By his wind the heavens were made fair;
> his hand pierced the fleeing serpent.

383 Gunkel equates Rahab with chaos, i.e., Tiamat. The dragon Rahab also appears as Leviathan, the monster of the deep and personification of the sea.

384 Psalm 74:13ff.:

> Thou didst divide the sea by thy might;
> thou didst break the heads of the dragons on the waters.
> Thou didst crush the heads of Leviathan,
> thou didst give him as food for the creatures of the wilderness.

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[106] *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 30ff.

[106a] This and the next three passages are RSV.—TRANS.

395 There is a further parallel in Isaiah 27:1:

> In that day the Lord with his sore and great and strong sword shall punish leviathan the piercing serpent, even leviathan that crooked serpent; and he shall slay the dragon that is in the sea.

396 We come upon a special motif in Job 41:1f.:

> Canst thou draw out leviathan with an hook?
> Or his tongue with a cord which thou lettest down?
> Canst thou put an hook into his nose?
> Or bore his jaw through with a thorn?

397 This motif has numerous parallels in the primitive myths [illegible] Polynesia, where the sea monster was [illegible] fished for.

398 We have seen that the most [illegible] parents [illegible] [illegible] mother. It [illegible] regenerated [illegible] as a [illegible] [illegible] figures are [illegible] symbols [illegible] as if [illegible] represented [illegible] [illegible] experience [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] every [illegible] from [illegible] But [illegible] that they are [illegible] There [illegible] [illegible] personal [illegible] [illegible] as per[illegible] as actual experiences [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] psychological terms, as

[illegible] consciousness of himself as a personality derives primarily from the influence of quasi-personal archetypes.[illegible] Numerous myths could be adduced in support of this view.

389 It is [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] the god who transforms himself: [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] man take part in the transformation. Thus Khnum, the maker, the potter, the builder, shapes his egg on the potter's wheel, for he is "immortal growth, his own generation and his own self-birth, the creator of the egg that came out of the primeval waters." The Egyptian Book of the Dead says: "I have risen like the mighty hawk [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] egg," and "I am the creator of Nun, who has taken up his abode in the underworld. My nest is not seen and my egg is not broken." Yet another passage speaks of "that great and glorious god in his egg, who created himself for that which came forth from him."[illegible] (In the literature the god is also called Negeg-ur or the Great Cackler. Book of the Dead, ch. [illegible]: "I cackle like the goose and whistle like the hawk.")

390 The transformation of the sacrificed into the god justifies the psychological statement that it is the god or the hero who was [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] the latter symbol [illegible] is [illegible]. This [illegible] necessary when the [illegible] seems [illegible] the god [illegible] only [illegible] at a [illegible] level of morality. Thus Herodotus reports:

> I have already mentioned the festival of Isis at Busiris. It is here that tens of thousands of men and women, when the sacrifice is over, beat their breasts: in whose honour, however, I do not feel it is proper for me to say.
>
> At Papremis there is a special ceremony in addition to the ordinary rites and sacrifices as practised elsewhere. As the sun draws towards setting, only a few of the priests continue to employ themselves about the image of the god, while the majority, armed with wooden clubs, take their stand at the entrance of the temple. Opposite these is another crowd of men, more than a thousand strong, also armed with clubs and consisting of men who have vows to perform. The image of the god, in a little wooden gilded shrine, is

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[illegible] Represented on the human sphere by the quaternio composed of father, mother, grandfather, and grandmother, the latter two corresponding to the [illegible] above the subject.

[illegible] Brugsch, Religion und Mythologie, pp. 16 ff.

conveyed to another sacred building on the day before the ceremony. The few priests who are left to attend to the image, together with the shrine which contains it, on a four-wheeled cart, which they drag along towards the temple. The others stand at the entrance to prevent it from coming in, while the votaries take the god's side and set upon them with their clubs. The assault is resisted, and a vigorous scuffle ensues in which heads are broken and not a few actually die of the wounds they receive. That, at least, is what I believe, though the Egyptians told me that no one was ever killed. The origin of this festival is explained locally by the story that the mother of Ares[110] once lived in the temple. Ares himself was brought up elsewhere, but when he grew to manhood he wished to get to know[111] his mother, and for that purpose came to the temple where she was. Her attendants, however, not knowing him by sight, refused him admission, and succeeded in keeping him out, until he fetched help from another town and forced his way in. This, they say, is why the battle with clubs is part of the ceremony at the festival of Ares.[112]

393 A Pyramid Text, describing the dead Pharaoh's fight for supremacy in heaven, says:

> The sky weeps, the stars shake, the keepers of the gods tremble and their servants flee, when they behold the king rising up as a spirit, as a god who lives on his fathers and possesses his mothers.[113]

394 It is clear that the votaries fight and even kill each other for their share in the mystery of divine incest.[114] In this way they participate in the action of the god.[115] The death of Baldur, by being wounded with a branch of mistletoe, is analogous to the death of Osiris and seems to require a similar

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[110] Ares probably means the Egyptian god Set.

[111] [In the German text used by the author this word [illegible] translated as "to have intercourse with."—TRANS.]

[112] [Herodotus, Book II, 63, trans. by de Sélincourt, pp. 126-27.]

[113] Cited in Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, p. 100.

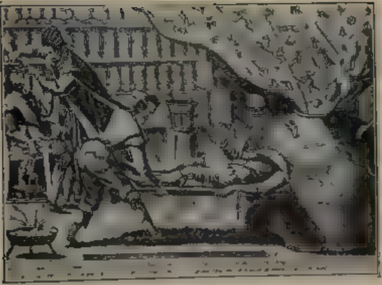
[114] The Polynesian myth of Maui says that he first [illegible] his mother [illegible]. The [illegible] of the [illegible] in this myth [illegible] the two [illegible] being. In a myth of the Y[illegible] of Nigeria [illegible] (see Frobenius, *Zeitalter*).

[115] The [illegible] Halirrhothius [illegible] for an attempt to cut down the sacred tree of Athens. The [illegible] psychology, as also does the castration [illegible] the priests in the service of the Great Mother. The ascetic tendency in Christianity, e.g. Origen's self-castration, is a similar phenomenon.

[illegible] In Germany [illegible] another name [illegible] We are told [illegible] But [illegible] But an [illegible] takes back [illegible] as we can see from [illegible] represents the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] hand information.



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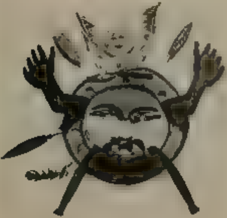
[illegible]

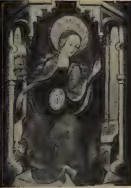


[illegible]

[illegible]

Romulus and Remus with the She-Wolf

[illegible]



[illegible]
[illegible]

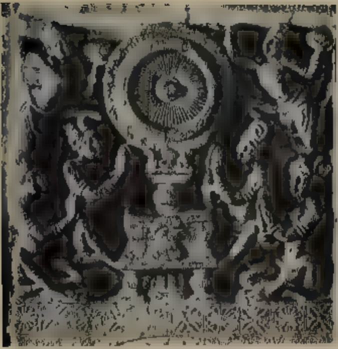
II

a. Relief [illegible] Museum

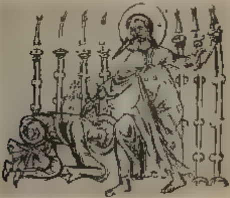
[illegible]

b. [illegible] Mysteries

[illegible]

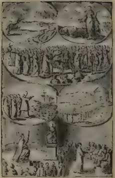


[illegible]



[illegible] The Son of Man [illegible] Candlesticks

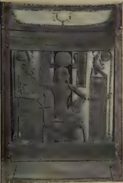
[illegible]



[illegible]

From a 15th-century Fren[illegible] *Library*

VI



[illegible] King
[illegible]

VII

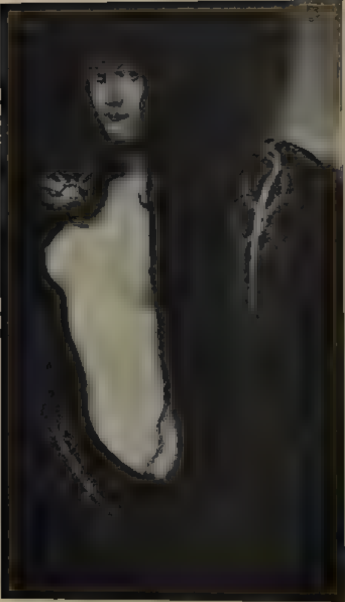
The [illegible] of Mary

[illegible]

[illegible]

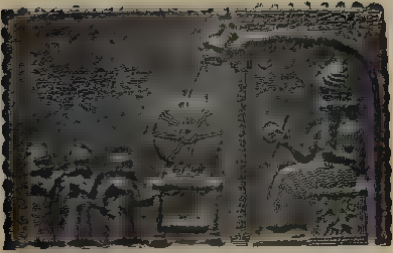
[illegible]

IX



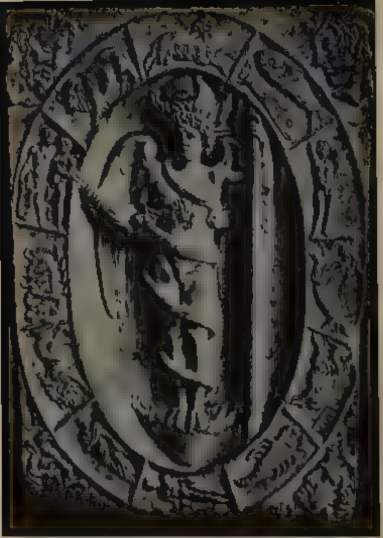
Sin

Painting by Franz Stuck (1863–1928) [illegible] London



a. [illegible] King [illegible] B.C.
[illegible] of King [illegible] B.C.

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

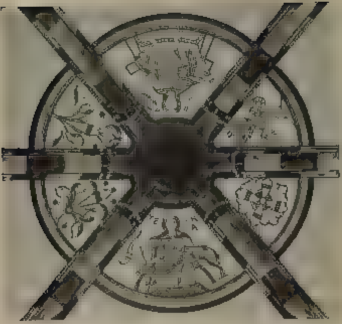


Phanes in the egg

Orphic relief, Modena

a The fire god [illegible]
[illegible]

b Agni [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]



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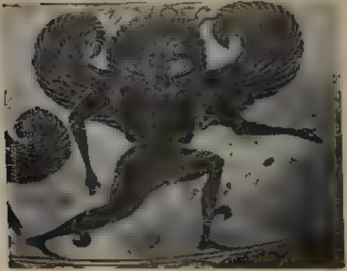
[illegible]



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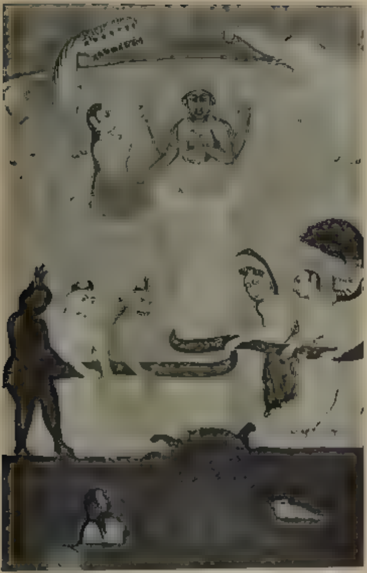
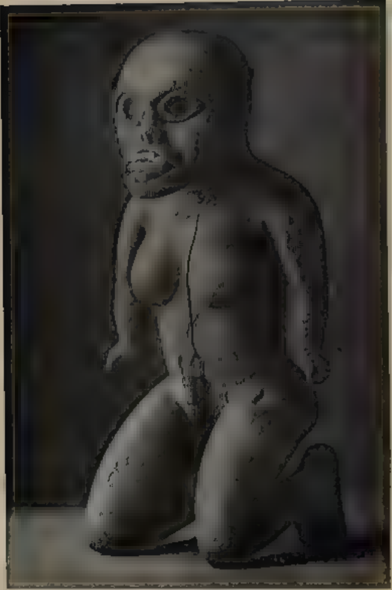
XIV



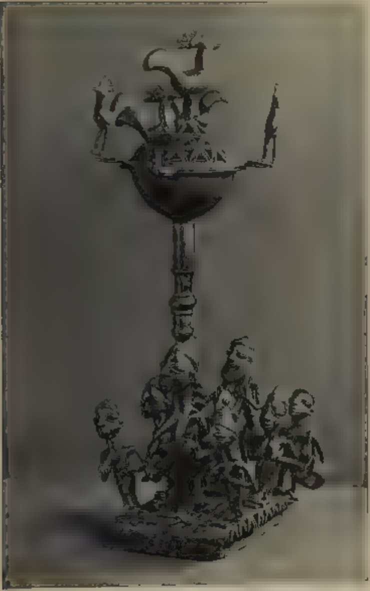
The [illegible]
[illegible]

XV

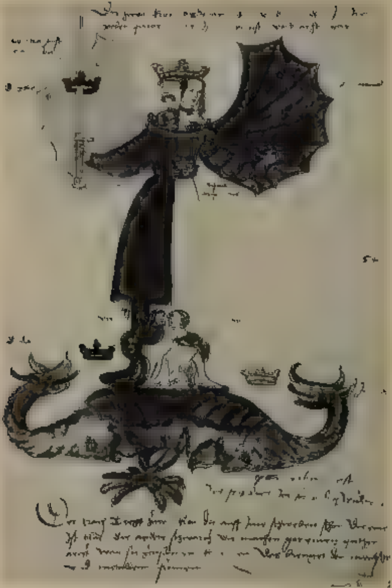


Kihe Wahine, goddess of goblins and lizards
Kou wood with human teeth. Hawaii

XVI

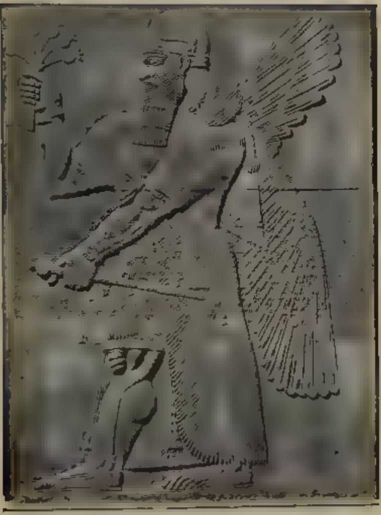


Female figure with head-dress symbolizing king ABOVE
King's incense bowl. Yoruba. West Africa



The [illegible]

[illegible]



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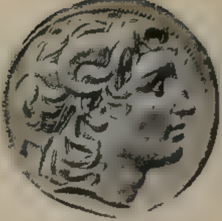
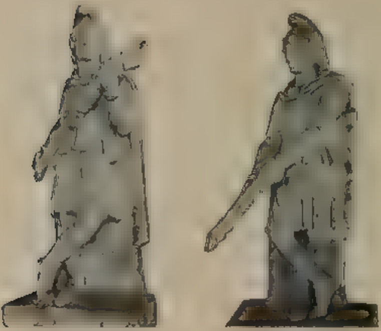
[illegible]



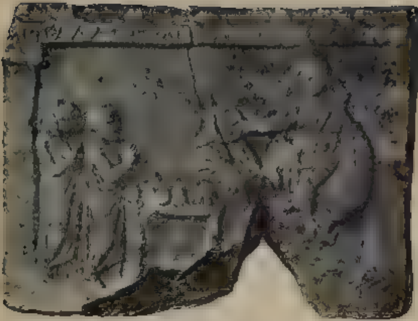
[illegible] Alexander

[illegible]



[illegible] raised arm [illegible]

[illegible]

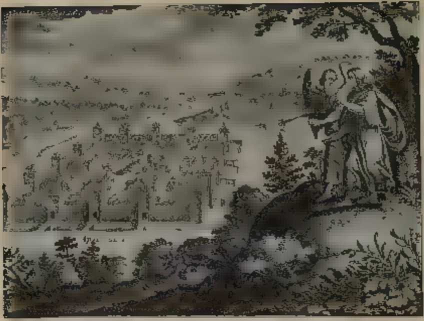


a. The god Men on a cock

[illegible]

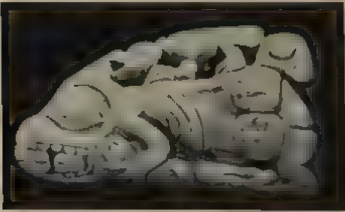
b. Ceremonial head-dress. American Indian dancer

[illegible]



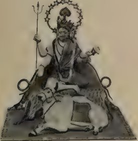
[illegible] New [illegible] Revelation [illegible] 21

Engraving [illegible]



6 A man and woman devoured [illegible]

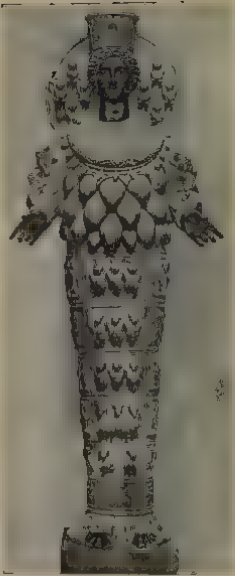
Sandstone [illegible]



Ardhanari Siva [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible]

XXIII

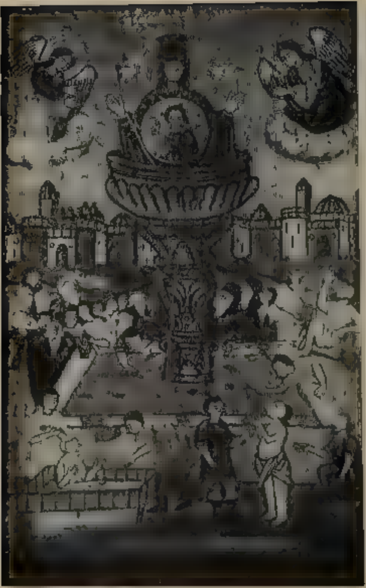
a Mithras and Helios [illegible] fragment from [illegible] from Hungary



b Diana of Ephesus, with [illegible] in [illegible] alabaster and bronze, Roman 2nd century A.D.

[illegible]

[illegible]

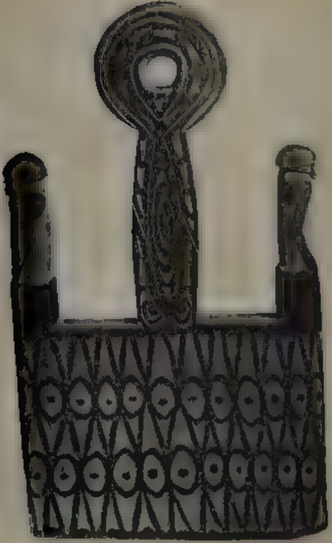


[illegible]

From [illegible]

[illegible]

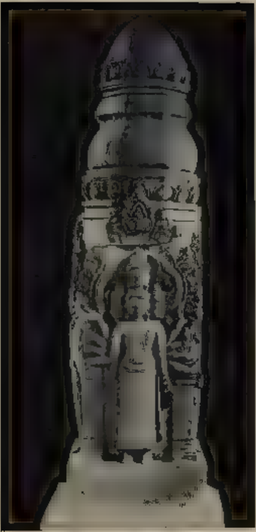
[illegible]



Hook for hanging

[illegible]

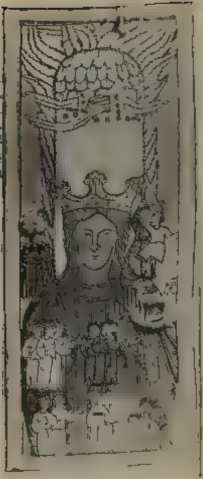
XXVII.



The Goddess [illegible] the Lingam

[illegible]

XXX



[illegible] Jesus
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The cow-headed Hathor
[illegible]
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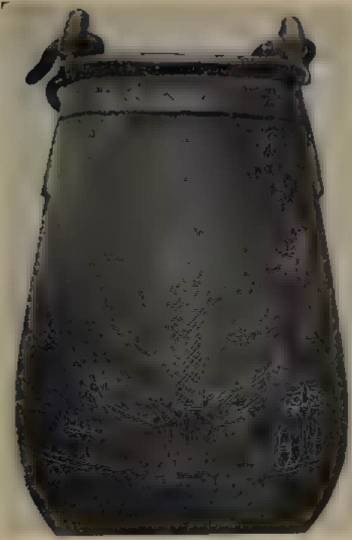

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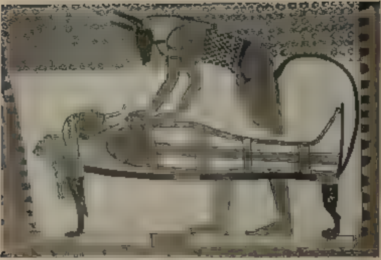
Bronze situla Egypt 7th–6th century B.C.

XXXI



[illegible] standing over a mummy
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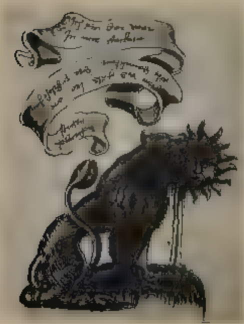
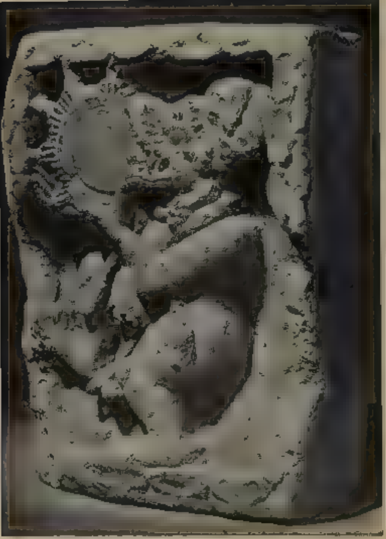


6 [illegible] of alchemy
From a manuscript [illegible] library [illegible] St
Gall [illegible] century

[illegible]

XXXI.



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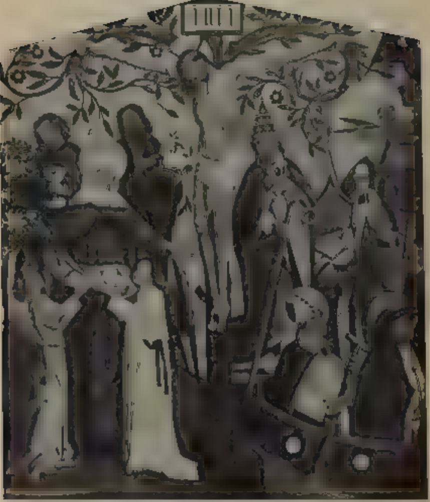
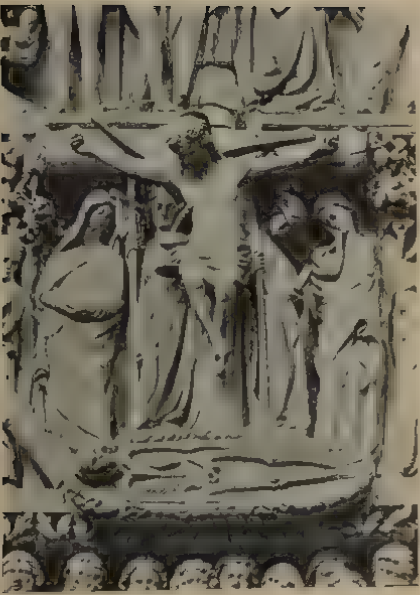


Christ on the Tree of Life
Painting, Strasbourg



The Cross [illegible]

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XXXVI.

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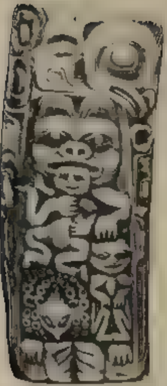
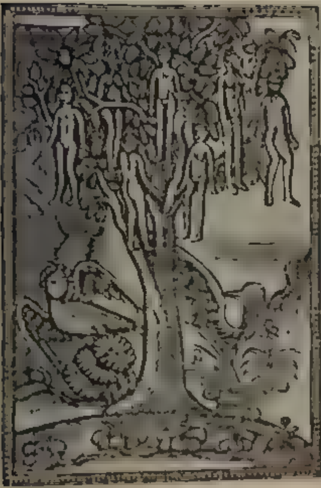


[illegible]
Stone [illegible]
[illegible] figures [illegible]

XXXVII



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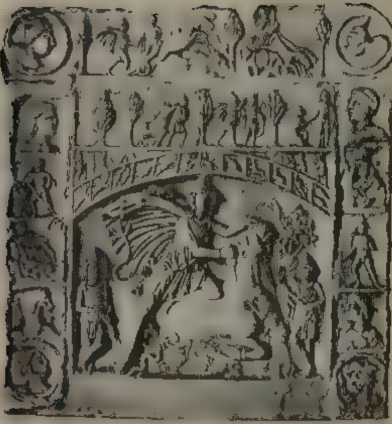

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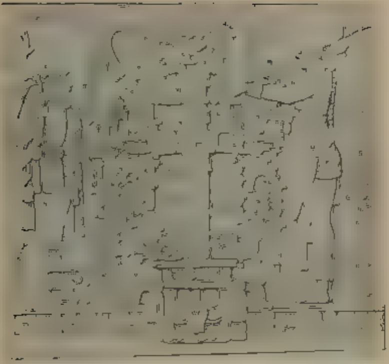

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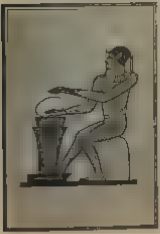

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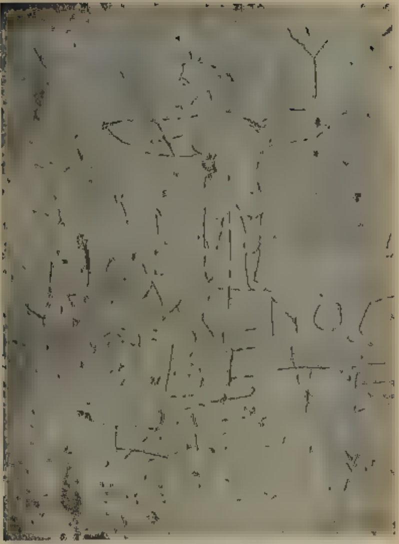
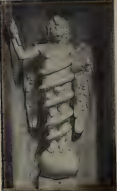


Mock crucifixion

[illegible]



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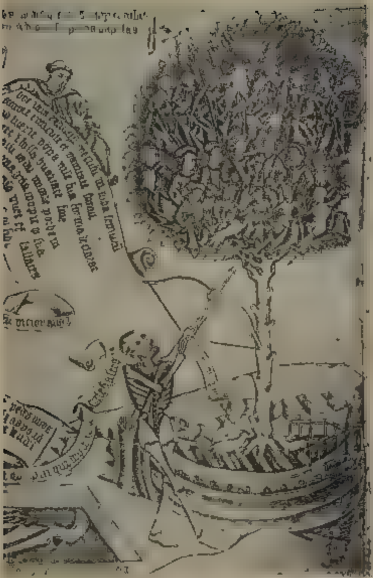
XLV



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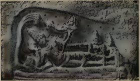

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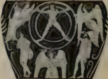

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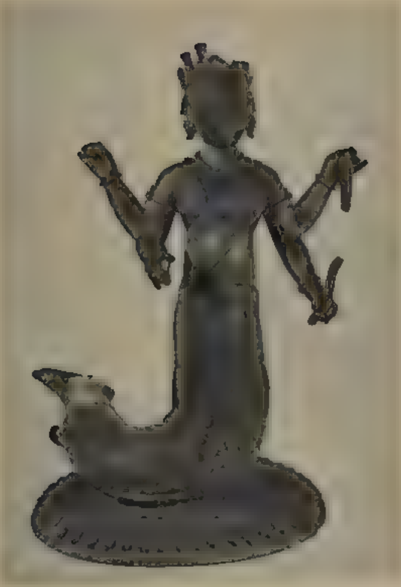
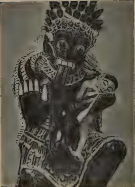
XLVI



Vishnu as a fish
Zinc figurine. India, 19th century



The witch Rangda: detail of [illegible]
[illegible] Bali

XVI

[illegible]

[illegible]

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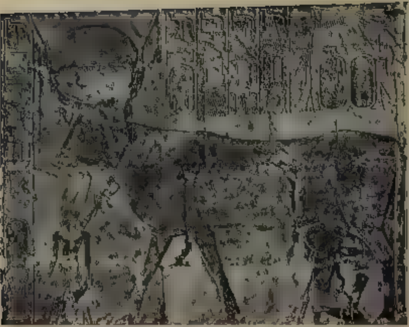

[illegible] Hathor Cow suckling [illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

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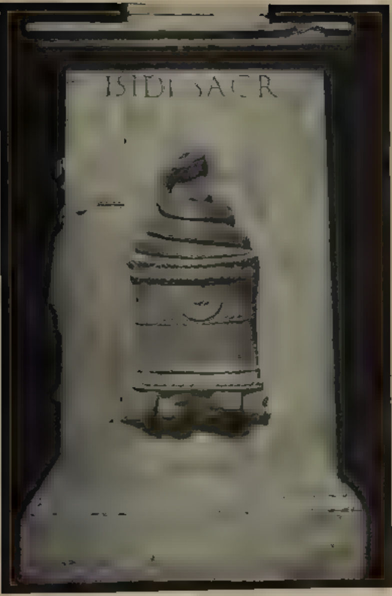
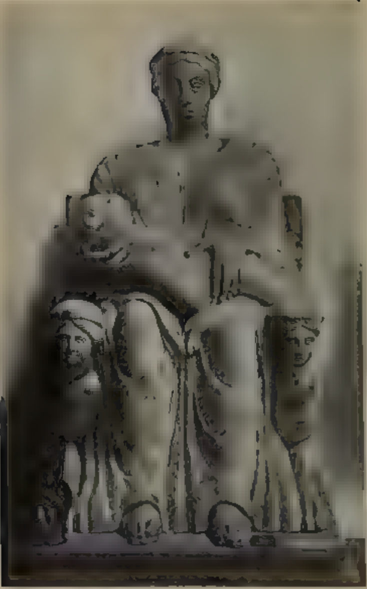
[illegible]



Basket [illegible]

[illegible]

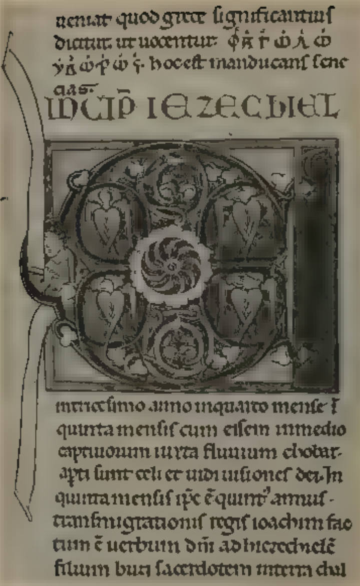


[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] relief sculpt[illegible] [illegible]



ueniat quod grece ſignificantiuſ
dicitur. ut uocentur: φα̇ γ̇ ω̇ λ̇ ω̇
γα ω φ ω ς. hoc eſt manducanſ ſene
ctas.

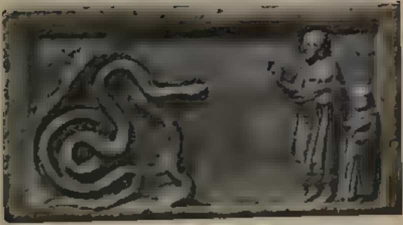
INCIP̄ IEZECHIEL

intricesimo anno in quarto mense I
quinta mensiſ cum eſſem in medio
captiuorum iuxta fluuium chobar.
apti ſunt celi et uidi uiſioneſ dei. In
quinta mensiſ ipſe ē quintuſ annuſ
tranſmigrationiſ regiſ ioachim fac
tum ē uerbum dn̄i ad hiezechielē
filium buzi ſacerdotem in terra chal

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]



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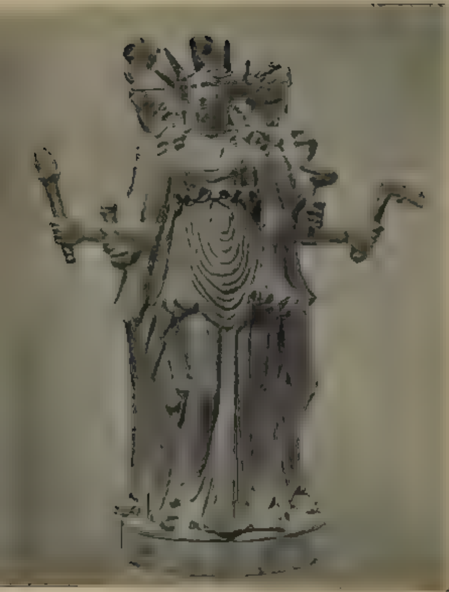
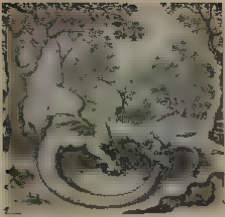


Triple-bodied Hecate

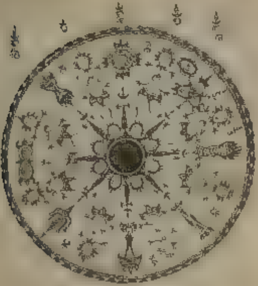
[illegible]

Pl. II



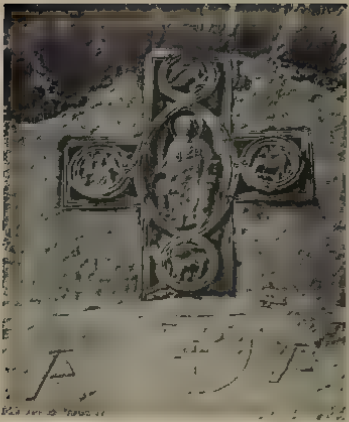
a. [illegible] dragon

[illegible]



b. Circle of gods

Java



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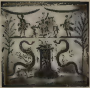

[illegible]

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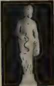

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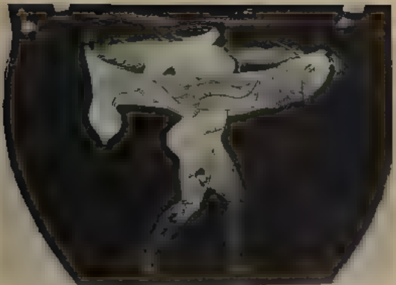
IX

[illegible]
[illegible]



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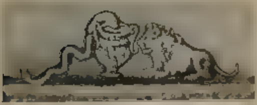

[illegible]

[illegible]

image for [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] is par- rate [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] by [illegible] by the [illegible] of the son.

393 Because [illegible] the mistletoe [illegible] Balder, since it is, in a sense [illegible] of the [illegible] is, as it were [illegible] he is a parasite on the mother, a creature [illegible] who only lives when [illegible] in the maternal body. In [illegible] the mother corresponds [illegible] and the son to consciousness, which [illegible] but must ever again succumb [illegible] power [illegible] unconsciousness. The mistletoe [illegible] corresponds [illegible] E. T. A. Hoffmann gives such an excellent [illegible] Just as a [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] the tree [illegible] chapters. The [illegible] com- plete his heroic task.

394 The [illegible] mother [illegible] superhuman he [illegible] In [illegible] he has to overcome the dragon of death.

395 As the tower [illegible] the dragon repre- sents the negative [illegible] expresses resistance [illegible] snake [illegible] repre- sent [illegible] taboos and repressions [illegible] that we [illegible] the tree and the snake. Snakes [illegible] Apaosha [illegible] par. 49

[illegible] and Persian [illegible] [illegible] of external [illegible]

356 [illegible] be taken as [illegible] moments [illegible] has a similar meaning [illegible] rock. The western [illegible] on the [illegible] we know prompted [illegible] horse with [illegible] prehistoric [illegible] laws [illegible] family [illegible]

[illegible] (Grimm, III, p. 980.)

[illegible] II, p. 183.

pa[illegible] of the transference. A[illegible] examples would be easier to [illegible] a [illegible] of [illegible] the female [illegible] a parental horde. The father is the representative of [illegible] [illegible] it is [illegible] That is his archetypal role, which falls to him regardless of his personal qualities; hence he is very often an object of neurotic fears for the son. Accordingly, the monster to be overcome by the son frequently appears as a giant who guards the treasure. An excellent example of this is the giant Humbaba in the Gilgamesh Epic, who guards the garden of Ishtar. Gilgamesh conquers the giant and wins Ishtar, whereupon Ishtar at once makes sexual advances to her deliverer.[334] These facts should be sufficient to explain the role played by Horus in Plutarch, and especially the violent treatment of Isis. By overpowering the mother the hero becomes equal to the sun; he renews himself. He wins the strength of the invincible sun, the power of eternal rejuvenation. We can now understand the series of pictures illustrating the Mithraic legend on the Heddernheim Relief (Pl. XL). First we see the birth of Mithras from the top of the tree; the next picture shows him carrying the conquered bull (cf. pl. XLIV). Here the bull has the same significance as the monster and may be compared with the giant that was conquered by Gilgamesh. He represents the father who—paradoxically—enforces the incest prohibition as a giant and dangerous animal. The paradox lies in the fact that, like the mother who gives life and then takes it away again as the "terrible" or "devouring" mother, the father apparently lives a life of unbridled [illegible] and yet [illegible] the law that thwarts [illegible] There is, however, a subtle but important distinction to be made here: the father commits no incest, whereas the son has tendencies in that direction. The paternal law is directed against incest with all the violence and fury of an uncontrolled instinct. [illegible] the fact that the spirit too is dynamic, as indeed it must be [illegible] as [illegible] just as the [illegible] the representative of moral [illegible] passive factor in the son himself. The [illegible] of the [illegible] denotes an [illegible] at the same time

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[333] Other examples in Frobenius, *passim.*

[334] Cf. Jensen, *Gilgamesch-Epos,* etc.

[illegible]

497 [illegible]

498 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

399 [illegible] can be found [illegible] It is also charac[illegible] spear [illegible], in the Hovamol Edda, Odin says:

I ween that I hung / on the windy tree,
Hung there for nights full nine,
[illegible] I was
To Odin, myself to myself.[154]

400 [illegible]

[illegible] of Christ, p. 205.

[illegible]

[156] Stephens, Travel in Central America, II, p. 346.

daughter of heaven and goddess of the earth, by nailing a youth or maiden to the cross every spring and shooting the victim with arrows.[181] The name of the cross signifies "Tree of our Life or flesh."[182] An effigy from the island of Philae represents Osiris in the form of a crucified god, mourned by Isis and Nephthys, his sister wives.[183]

407 The meaning of the cross is certainly not restricted to the tree of life, as has already been shown. Müller takes it as an emblem of rain and fertility.[184] We should also mention that it is a powerful charm for averting evil (e.g., making the sign of the cross).

408 In view of the fact that the cross resembles the human figure with arms outspread, it is worth noting that in early Christian art Christ is not nailed to the cross, but is shown standing before it with open arms.[185] Maurice interprets this as follows:

> It is a fact not less remarkable than well attested, that the Druids in their groves were accustomed to select the most stately and beautiful tree as an emblem of the deity they adored, and having cut off the side branches, they affixed two of the largest of them to the highest part of the trunk, in such manner that those branches extended on each side like the arms of a man, together with the body, presented to the spectator the appearance of a huge cross, and on the bark, in various places, was actually inscribed the letter "tau."[186]

409 The "tree of knowledge" of the Jains of India also has a human form; it is represented as an enormous, very thick trunk shaped like a human head, from the top of which grow two

---

[181] Zöckler, p. 25.

[182] Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*, III, p. 506. (Cited in Robertson, *Christianity and Mythology*, p. 408.)

[183] Rosellini, *Monumenti dell' Egitto*, II, Pl. 23, cited in Robertson, p. [illegible].

[184] Zöckler, pp. 8ff. (In an Egyptian picture of the birth of a king in Luxor, the hawk-headed Thoth, the Logos and messenger of the gods, is shown announcing to the young queen Mautmes that she will give birth to a son. In the next scene Kneph and Hathor hold the crux ansata to her mouth, thus fertilizing her in a mystical or symbolic manner. Cf. fig. 25. Sharpe, *Egyptian Mythology*, pp. 18f., cited in Robertson, p. 328.)

[185] Robertson (p. [illegible]) mentions that in Mexico the sacrificial priest clothed himself in the skin of a newly killed woman and then stood before the war god with arms stretched out like a cross.

[186] Maurice, *Indian Antiquities*, VI, p. 68. By "tau" he means the primitive Egyptian form of the cross, T.

long branches hanging down on either side, with a short, vertical branch sticking straight up, crowned with a bud-like knob.[137] Robertson tells us that in the Assyrian system God was represented in the form of a cross, the vertical standing for the human figure and the horizontal for a conventionalized pair of wings.[138] Archaic Greek idols, such as were found in large quantities in Aegina, have a similar character: an immoderately long head, wing-shaped arms slightly raised, and in front distinct breasts.[139]

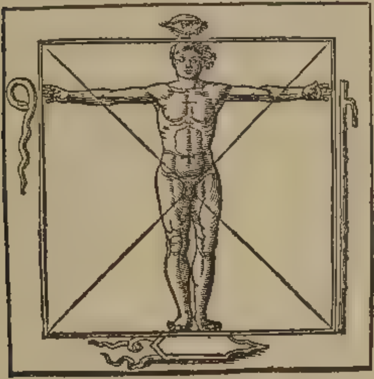

Fig. 26. The human cross

From Agrippa von Nettesheim, De occulta philosophia, Cologne, 1533

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[137] Zöckler, p. 12. [138] Robertson, p. 133.

[139] I am indebted for this information to Professor E. Fiechter, formerly of the Technical Institute, Stuttgart.

404 I must leave it [illegible] symbol of the [illegible] have [illegible] king, as [illegible] seems [illegible] has the [illegible] cross, or something all [illegible] the cross. [illegible] expression [illegible] found in Plato's *Timaeus*, where the demiurge [illegible] by means [illegible] According to Plato the world [illegible] an image [illegible]

A[illegible] was a blessed god.[140]

405 This utter [illegible] Plato says:

> Now this soul [illegible] comes [illegible] we are now [illegible] venerable in birth and excellence to be the body's mistress and governor.[141]

406 [illegible]

---

[140] *Timaeus* 34 B-C.

[141] See *Psychological Types*, [illegible] and "soul image," Defs. 48 and 49. The anima is the archetype of the feminine and plays a very important role in a

stage in the development [illegible] in a mysterious and rather [illegible].[142] When [illegible] experiment was [illegible] the [illegible] was done.

This whole [illegible] can be [illegible] two halves and making [illegible] two [illegible] one [illegible] he [illegible] and [illegible]. When [illegible] makes a mark. He next begins [illegible] the small [illegible] the two together [illegible].[143]

407 A peculiar use is made of the cross symbol by the Muyscas Indians of Peru. Two ropes are stretched crosswise over the surface of the water [illegible] and precious stones are thrown in as a sacrifice at the point of intersection. Here the [illegible] is obviously the water, not the cross, which only signifies the place of sacrifice. The symbolism is somewhat obscure. Water and particularly deep water usually has a maternal significance, [illegible]. The point of intersection of the two ropes is the point of union where the crossing takes place. (Note the double meaning of this word! According to all the analogies, [illegible] image is [illegible] the [illegible] used in sacrifice.)

408 The cross [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible]. It [illegible] gives [illegible] knows something [illegible] of Heliopolis bears the name [illegible] and [illegible] attendant goddess, Iusaas or Nebit-Hotpet, is sometimes the mother, sometimes the daughter, and sometimes the wife of the god. The first day in autumn was known in Heliopolis as the "feast day of the goddess Iusaas," as the arrival of the sister who [illegible] herself to her father. It is the day on which the goddess Mehnit completes

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[illegible] See The Relations between the Ego and the Unconscious, [illegible]. I have [illegible] "Transformation Symbolism in the Mass" and "A Psychological Approach to the Dogma of the Trinity," [illegible].

143 See my remarks [illegible].

144 Zöckler, p. 24.

her work, so that the god Osiris may enter the left eye."[146] It is also called "the day for filling the sacred eye with what it needs." In the autumnal equinox the heavenly cow with the moon-eye, Isis, receives the seed that begets Horus, the moon being the guardian of the seed.[147] The "eye" evidently stands

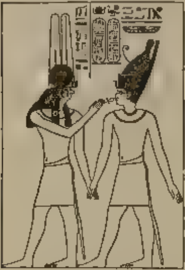

Fig. 27. The life-giving *crux ansata*
Egypt

for the female genitals, as is clear from the myth of Indra, who, as a punishment for his wantonness, was smitten with yonis all over his body, but was so far pardoned by the gods that the shameful yonis were changed into eyes. The little image reflected in the eye, the "pupil," is a "child." The great god becomes a child again: he enters into the mother's womb for self-renewal.[148] (Cf. pl. xxiii.) An Egyptian hymn says:

> Thy mother, the sky,
> Stretches forth her arms to thee

---

[146] The "left eye" is the moon. See below, par. 487, the moon as the gathering place of souls (cf. fig. 9).

[147] Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ägypter*, pp. 28 ff.

[148] Cf. the return of Ra on the heavenly cow, par. 45, and one of the Hindu rites of purification: the penitent has to crawl through an artificial cow in order to be reborn.

409 The hymn continues:

> Thou shinest, O father of the gods, upon the back of thy mother, daily thy mother taketh thee in her arms. When thou settest in the habitation of the night, thou art one with thy mother, the sky.[149]

410 Tum of Pithum-Heliopolis [illegible] bears the crux ansata as a symbol, but even has it [illegible] as the commonest of his titles, *ankh* or *ankhi*, which means "life" or "the living One." He was chiefly worshipped as the Agathodaimon serpent, of which it was said: "The sacred Agathodaimon serpent goes forth from the city of Nezi." The snake, because it casts its skin, is a symbol of renewal, like the scarab, which was believed to be of masculine sex only and to beget itself. Khnum (another name [illegible], always the sun-god is meant) comes from the verb [illegible], "to join together" or "unite."[150] Khnum appears as the potter and maker of his own egg (cf. pl. XLIb).

411 It is clear from all this that the cross is a many-faceted symbol, and its chief meaning is that of the "tree of life" and the "mother." Its symbolization in human form is therefore [illegible] understandable. The various forms of the crux ansata have the meaning of "life" and "fruitfulness," and also of "union," which can be interpreted as the *hieros gamos* of the god with his mother for the purpose of conquering death and renewing life.[151] This [illegible] as plain, has passed [illegible] Christianity. For instance, St. Augustine says:

> Like a bridegroom Christ went forth from his chamber, he went out with a presage of his nuptials into the field of the world. . . . He came to the marriage-bed of the cross, and there, in mounting it, he consummated his marriage. And when he perceived the sighs of the creature, he lovingly gave himself up to the torment in place of his bride, and he joined himself to the woman for ever.[152]

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[149] Cited in Schultze, *Psychologie der Naturvölker*, p. 338.

[150] Brugsch, pp. 290ff.

[151] This is not surprising, since it is the [illegible] whose animating forces appear in religion. [illegible] of view [illegible] have [illegible]. The [illegible] brought [illegible] from below gain a new strength in the [illegible] of [illegible] from below creates new [illegible] in the old [illegible] forms.

[152] *Sermo Suppositus* 120, 8: "Procedit Christus quasi sponsus de thalamo suo, praesagio nuptiarum exiit ad campum saeculi. . . . pervenit usque ad crucis

412 The analogy is indeed so plain that it hardly requires further comment. It is therefore a very touching and for all its naïveté an extraordinarily profound piece of symbolism when Mary, in an Old English lament of the Virgin,[153] accuses the cross of being a false tree, which unjustly and insensately destroyed the pure fruit of her body, her gentle birdling, with a poisonous draught, the draught of death which was meant only for the guilty descendants of the sinner Adam. Her son was not to blame for their guilt. Mary laments:

> Tre unkynde, thou schalt be kid,
> mi sone step-moder I the calle.
> cros thou holdest him so heih on heigth,
> mi fruites feet I may not kis.
> cros I fynde thou art my fo.
> thou berest my brid, beten blo.

413 Whereupon the Holy Cross answers:

> Ladi to the I owe honour,
> thi brihte palmes nou I bere,
> thi fruit me florischeth in blod colour . . .
> that Blosme Blomed up in thi bour
> ac not for the al-one,
> but for to winne all this world

414 Concerning the relation of the two mothers to one another, the Cross says:

> thou art i-crouned hevene quene,
> thorw the burthe that thou beere.
> I am a Relyk that shineth shene,
> men wolde wite wher that I were,
> at the parlement wol I bene,
> or domes-day prest y a-pere;
> at the parlement shal I puten up pleynyng:
> hou Maydenes fruit on me gan sterve.[154]

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torum et ibi firmavit ascendendo coniugium; ubi cum sentiret anhelantem in suspiriis creaturam commercio pietatis se pro coniuge dedit ad poenam et copulavit sibi perpetuo iure matronam.") The "woman" is the Church. (Cf. pl. xxxa.)

[153] "Dispute between Mary and the Cross," in Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood*, pp. 133–35.

[154] In modern English: "Tree unkind, thou shalt be known, my son's step-mother I call thee: Cross, thou holdest him so high in height, my fruit's feet I may not kiss; Cross, I find thou art my foe, thou bearest my bird, beaten

415 Thus the Mother of Death joins the Mother of Life in lamenting the dying god, and as an [illegible] Mary kisses the cross and is reconciled to it. [illegible] preserved in the Isis [illegible] the mother signifies man's leave-taking from animal unconsciousness. It was only the power of the incest prohibition that created the self-conscious individual, who before had been mindlessly one with the tribe, and it was only then that the idea of the final death of the individual became possible. Thus through Adam's sin, which lay precisely in his becoming conscious, death came into the world. The neurotic who cannot leave his mother has good reasons for not doing so: ultimately, it is the fear of death that holds him there. It seems as if no idea and no word were powerful enough to express the meaning of this conflict. Certainly the struggle for expression which has continued through the centuries cannot be motivated by what is narrowly and crudely conceived as "incest." We ought rather to conceive the law which expresses itself first and last in the "incest prohibition" as the impulse to domestication, and regard the religious systems as institutions which take up the instinctual forces of man's animal nature, organize them, and gradually make them available for higher cultural purposes.

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416 We will now return to Miss Miller's visions. Those that now follow do not require lengthy comment. She sees first the image of a "bay of purple water." The symbolism of the sea links up

[illegible] Thus [illegible] thee I [illegible] Bruised [illegible] me [illegible] the water And [illegible] queen [illegible] he hardened [illegible] I am a Relic that showeth bright [illegible] to know where I am [illegible] appear [illegible] the par[illegible] how a Maiden's Fruit on me began to die."]

157 [illegible] the stake on which criminals were executed [illegible] was known as the "hecate."

158 The theme is not a part of a [illegible] the marriage classes [illegible] the most [illegible] cross-cousin marriage. This is a compromise between the endogamous and exogamous tendencies. See my "Psychology of the Transference," pars. 433ff.

with what has gone before, and we could also refer back to the reminiscences of the bay of Naples in Part I. In the sequence of the whole we certainly ought not to overlook the significance of the bay, so it might be as well to cast a glance at the etymology of this concept. Generally speaking, *bay* denotes anything that stands open. Fr. *bayer* means to keep the mouth open, to gape. Another word for the same thing is *gulf*, Lat. *sinus*, which in Fr. *golfe* is closely connected with *gouffre*, abyss. Cf. also Eng. *gap*. *Gulf* is related to κόλπος,[154] bosom, lap, womb, also fold of a garment or pocket. In Swiss German *Buese* is pocket of a coat or skirt. κόλπος can also mean a deep hollow between two waves, or a valley between two high mountains. These significations point clearly to the underlying primitive ideas. They render intelligible Goethe's choice of words in the passage where Faust wishes to follow the sun with winged desire in order to drink its streams of quenchless light:

Then mountains could not check my godlike flight,
With their wild ravines or savage rocky ways;
But lo, the sea, with warm and tranquil bays,
Would hold its beauty to my wondering sight.[155]

407 Faust's desire, like that of every hero, is a yearning for the mystery of rebirth, for immortality; therefore his way leads out to sea and down into the jaws of death, that frightening, narrow passage which signals the new day:

I hear a call towards the open main,
My tide of spirit's ebbing more and more;
Lies at my feet the shining glassy plain,
A new day beckons to another shore.
As if on wings, a chariot of fire
Sweeps near me. I am ready to be free,
Piercing the ether new-born, I aspire
To rise to spheres of pure activity.

Now let me dare to open wide the gate
Past which man's steps have ever flinching trod,
The hour is come, as master of my fate,
To prove in man the stature of a god.

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[154] Diez, *Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen*, p. 168.
[155] Part I, trans. by Wayne, p. 66.

Nor shrink before the cavern black and teeming,
Imagination's torment evermore,
But *strive towards that passage* at whose door
A narrow mouth burns all the flames of hell.
This step I take in cheerful resolution,
Though I should plunge to death and dissolution.[109]

458 So it seems like a confirmation of this when in the very next vision Miss Miller sees "a perpendicular cliff." Cf. [illegible] This whole series of visions ends, so the author tells us, with a confusion of sounds, somewhat resembling "wa-ma, wa-ma." This strikes a very primitive, abysmal note. Since we learn nothing from Miss Miller about the subjective roots of this echo from the past, there is only one conjecture open to us: that it might, in the context as a whole, be considered a slight distortion of the well-known cry "Ma-ma."

[109] Ibid., p. 54.

VI

THE BATTLE FOR DELIVERANCE FROM THE MOTHER

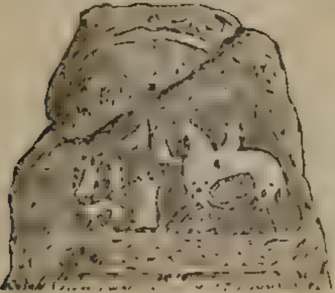
419 There now comes a short pause in the production of the visions; then the activity of the unconscious is energetically resumed:

420 A wood appears with trees and bushes. After our discussion in the preceding chapter, we need only say that the meaning of the forest coincides essentially with that of the taboo tree. The sacred tree is generally found in a wood or in a paradise-like garden. Sometimes the forbidden grove takes the place of the tabooed tree and is invested with all the attributes of the latter. The forest, like the tree, has a maternal significance. In the vision which now follows, the forest forms the setting for the dramatic representation of Chiwantopel's end. I will first give the beginning of the drama, i.e., the first attempt at sacrifice as it appears in the original text. The reader will find the continuation, the monologue and sacrificial scene, at the beginning of the next chapter.

The figure of Chiwantopel comes up from the south on horseback, wrapped in a blanket of bright colours, red, blue, and white. An Indian dressed in buckskin, beaded and ornamented with feathers, creeps forward stealthily, making ready to shoot an arrow at Chiwantopel, who bares his breast to him in an attitude of defiance; and the Indian, fascinated by this sight, slinks away and disappears into the forest.

421 Chiwantopel appears on horseback. This fact seems to be of some importance because, as the next act of the drama will show, the horse does not play a merely neutral role but suffers the same death as the hero, and is even called by him his "faithful brother." This points to a curious similarity between horse and rider. There seems to be an intimate connection between the

[illegible]



[illegible]

Tombstone, Gotland, Sweden, c. A.D. 1000

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]
pp 406ff.,
[illegible]

[illegible]

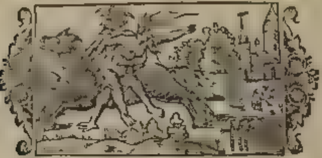


Fig. 29. The Devil riding off with a witch
From Olaus Magnus, Historia, Rome, 1555

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

I would rather not discuss here.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] stands the [illegible]

[illegible] worthy bull.[42]

Pegasus [illegible] from the earth with his hoof. A Corinthian [illegible] of Bellerophon, which was also a fountain, [illegible] the water flowed from the hoof of the horse. [illegible] The horse's foot [illegible]. A tale from Lower Austria, recorded by Jaehns, says that a gigantic man on a white horse can sometimes be seen riding over the mountains: a sure sign of rain. In the German legend Mother Holle [illegible] comes on horseback. Pregnant women [illegible] give oats to a white horse [illegible] ask it for a speedy delivery. [illegible] the woman's genitals. [illegible] significance of a [illegible] [illegible] as the Priapi [illegible]. It was a horse [illegible] Mountains [illegible] In the Netherlands [illegible] stable to ward off [illegible] is well known [illegible]

423 On account of their speed [illegible] wind [illegible] German [illegible] known the wind [illegible] Wotan [illegible]

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[41] Ross und Reiter, p. 95.

[42] [illegible]

[43] Negelein, II, [illegible]; Schwartz, p. 115.

their names were horses, e.g., [illegible] Schimmelberg [illegible] horse [illegible] Dunkelung [illegible]. The Centaurs are, among other things, wind-gods.[18]

423 Horses also signify fire and light, like the fiery horses of Helios. Hector's horses were called Xanthos (yellow, bright), Podargos (swift-footed), Lampos (shining), and Aithon (burning). Siegfried [illegible] the [illegible] fire [illegible] the horse Grani, who was sired by Sleipnir and was the only horse capable of taking the fiery hedge.[19] There is a distinct fire symbolism in the mystic quadriga mentioned by Dio Chrysostom:[20] the highest god always drives his chariot [illegible] in a circle. The chariot is drawn by four horses, and the outside horse moves very quickly. He has a shining coat, bearing on it the signs of the zodiac and the constellations.[21] The second horse goes more slowly and is illuminated on one side only. The third horse is slower still, and the fourth horse runs round itself. Once, however, the outside horse set the mane of the second horse on fire with his fiery breath, and the third horse drenched the fourth with streams of sweat. Then the horses dissolve and merge with the substance of the strongest and most fiery, which now becomes the charioteer. The horses represent the four elements. The catastrophe signifies world conflagration and the deluge, after which the division of God into Many ceases, and the divine One is restored.[22] There can be no doubt that the quadriga is meant as an astronomical symbol of Time. We saw in Part I that the Stoic conception of fate is a fire-symbol, so it is a logical continuation of this idea when the closely related conception of time exhibits the same libido symbolism.

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[18] Evidence for [illegible] as wind-god may be found in Meyer, [illegible] germanische Mythen, II, pp. 44?ff.

[19] Schwartz, p. 141.

[20] *Oratio* XXXVI, [illegible]

[21] [illegible] horoscope [illegible] Pythagorean [illegible] claimed [illegible] [illegible] magic signs [illegible] the heavenly [illegible] The Mithraic Aion [illegible] signs of the zodiac on his skin (cf. pl. XLIV).

[22] [illegible] is the [illegible] of a world [illegible] the blossoming and withering of the tree of life [illegible] beginning of a new age.

411 The Brihadaranyaka Upanishad says:

[illegible]

412 [illegible]

---

[53] Bk. I, trans. by Hume, p. 73, modified.

[54] Cumont, *Textes*, I, p. 76.

[55] [illegible]

[illegible] consciousness [illegible] and the [illegible] sons [illegible] Mithra and [illegible] to bearing [illegible] infinitely long duration [illegible] expressed in the mysteries [illegible] creative [illegible] just as [illegible] the eternal process [illegible] the present time is indicated [illegible] and the event.[26] [illegible]

Time is regarded as a god [illegible] Being [illegible] but [illegible] god [illegible] stood [illegible]

426 In Firdausi [illegible] text [illegible] above [illegible] the world [illegible] the sea [illegible] here the [illegible] is the sea, [illegible] is [illegible] rising [illegible]

427 We have already seen [illegible] the horse [illegible] the symbolism [illegible] The horse [illegible] Mithraic Aion [illegible] was called [illegible] Persian [illegible] horse.[28] [illegible] the part of a psycho[illegible] souls of the dead are fetched by [illegible] the Valkyries. Modern Greek songs speak of [illegible] as [illegible] a horse.[29]

428 Finally the [illegible] appears in [illegible] turns the [illegible] horse. The [illegible]

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[26] [illegible] p. [illegible]

[27] [illegible] p. 438 [illegible] p. 80

[28] [illegible] (Cumont, p. 87

[29] [illegible] speaks [illegible] with human beings and even exhumed corpses

[illegible] races on a three-legged horse, [illegible] pestilence.[30] In the Bundahish[31] there is a three-legged ass who stands in the heavenly rain-lake Vourukasha; his urine purifies its waters, and at his cry all [illegible] animals become pregnant and all that are harmful drop their young. The contrasting symbolism [illegible] is [illegible] in the image of the ass of Vourukasha [illegible] is fructifying as well as destructive.

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429 In the Miller drama an Indian approaches the hero, preparing to shoot an arrow at him. But Chiwantopel, with a proud gesture, exposes his breast to the enemy. This image reminded the author of the scene between Cassius and Brutus in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*.[32] A misunderstanding has arisen between the two friends, Brutus accusing Cassius of withholding [illegible] the legions. Cassius breaks out in a peevish rage:

> Come, Antony, and young Octavius, come,
> Revenge yourselves alone on Cassius,
> For Cassius is aweary of the world;
> Hated by one he loves; braved by his brother;
> Check'd like a bondman; all his faults observed,
> Set in a note-book, learn'd, and conn'd by rote,
> To cast into my teeth. O! I could weep
> My spirit from mine eyes! There is my dagger,
> And here my naked breast; within, a heart
> Dearer than Plutus' mine, richer than gold:
> If that thou be'st a Roman, take it forth;
> I, that denied thee gold, will give my heart:
> Strike, as thou didst at Caesar; for, I know,
> When thou didst hate him worst, thou lovedst him better
> Than ever thou lovedst Cassius.

430 Our material would be incomplete if we did not mention [illegible] that this speech of Cassius has [illegible] analogies with the agonized [illegible] than that of Cyrano, except that Cassius is far more theatrical. There is something [illegible] and hysterical in his

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[30] [illegible]

[31] [illegible]

[32] [illegible]

manner. Brutus has no intention of killing him; instead, he pours cold water on him in the following dialogue:

> Sheathe your dagger:
> Be angry when you will, it shall have scope;
> Do what you will, dishonour shall be humour.
> O Cassius, you are yoked with a lamb
> That carries anger as the flint bears fire;
> Who, much enforced, shows a hasty spark,
> And straight is cold again.
>
> CASSIUS: Hath Cassius lived
> To be but mirth and laughter to his Brutus,
> When grief and blood ill-temper'd vexeth him?
>
> BRUTUS: When I spoke that, I was ill-temper'd too.
>
> CASSIUS: Do you confess so much? Give me your hand.
>
> BRUTUS: And my heart too.
>
> CASSIUS: O Brutus!
>
> BRUTUS: What's the matter?
>
> CASSIUS: Have not you love enough to bear with me,
> When that rash humour which my mother gave me
> Makes me forgetful?
>
> BRUTUS: Yes, Cassius; and from henceforth,
> When you are over earnest with your Brutus,
> He'll think your mother chides, and leave you so.

431 Cassius's irritability is explained by the fact that he identifies with his mother and therefore behaves exactly like a woman, as his speech demonstrates to perfection.[33] His womanish yearning for love and his despairing self-abasement under the proud masculine will of Brutus fully justify the latter's remark that Cassius is "yoked with a lamb," in other words, has something feckless in his character, which is inherited from his mother. This can be taken as proof of an infantile disposition, which is

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[33] A clear case of identity with the anima. The first carrier of the anima image is the mother.

[illegible] mands of feeling.

[illegible]

[illegible] an involuntary product.

[35] See par. 48, above.

the real Miss M[illegible] [illegible] dance [illegible] It then creates [illegible] [illegible]

433 [illegible]

quite different.

434 [illegible] in the form

of an arrow [illegible] the [illegible] arrows [illegible] be [illegible] by an arrow means [illegible] Pl. XLV.

437 We read in the life of Anna Catherina Emmerich, the [illegible] (1774–1824), who received the stigmata, the following account of her heart trouble:

[illegible]

438 It is not difficult to [illegible] because even a [illegible] degree of [illegible] We know [illegible] We know [illegible] Catherina Emmerich [illegible] [illegible] always particular [illegible]

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[34] [illegible] many hearts may be revealed." Luke 2 : 35.

[35] Wegener, *Leben der* [illegible] p. [illegible]

[36] [German 'heart' and 'pain.'—EDITORS.]

forbidden desires and the attempts of nature to break through the barrier of repression, without which no sort of differentiation would be possible. The gossip and sarcastic gibes of [illegible] very naturally [illegible], but it must seem to the saint as if it [illegible] where. She could hardly know that gossip is very apt to take over the role of the unconscious, and, like a skilled adversary, always aims at the chinks in our armour of which we know nothing.

437 The same idea is expressed in the following passage from the discourses of the Buddha:

> But if those sensual pleasures fail the person who desires and wishes for them, he will suffer, pierced by the arrow of pain.[39]

438 The wounding and painful shafts do not come from outside, through gossip, which only pricks us on the surface, but from the ambush of our own unconscious. It is our own repressed desires that stick like arrows in our flesh.[40] On another occasion this became true for a nun, and in the most literal sense. It is a well-known fact that scenes of mystic union with the Saviour are strongly tinged with erotic libido.[41] Stigmatization amounts [illegible] to an incubation with the Saviour, a slight modification of the antique conception of the unio mystica as cohabitation with the god. The nun gives the following account of her stigmatization:

> I had a contemplation of the sufferings of Christ, and I besought him to let me feel his sorrows with him, and prayed five paternosters in honour of the five sacred wounds. Lying on my bed with arms outstretched, I entered into a great sweetness and an endless thirst for the torments of Jesus. Then I saw a radiance descending towards me, and it came slanting down from above. It was a crucified body, alive and transparent, the arms extended, but without the Cross. The wounds shone more brightly than the body; they were

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[39] *Sutta-Nipata*, trans. by Fausböll, p. 146.

[40] The [illegible] the [illegible] the "Feasts of Fidelity" [illegible] bought the pain came from [illegible]. The same [illegible] passion [illegible]. As an arrow that sticketh in the flesh of the thigh, so is a word in a fool's [illegible]; it gives him no peace until it is out.

[41] This fact, however, does not prove that the experience of the unio mystica is exclusively of [illegible] origin. The [illegible] proves that the canalization of libido has not been entirely successful, with the result that clear traces of the original form remain behind unassimilated.

[illegible] emanate from [illegible] while I was enraptured and [illegible] was [illegible] with great sweetness [illegible] the [illegible] Saviour [illegible] Redeemer [illegible] and [illegible] towards [illegible] Then [illegible] the side, then from the feet of [illegible] shot forth in [illegible] his hands, his side and his feet [illegible] an arrow.[42]

439 The beams are to be [illegible] ending in an arrow-head.[43] Like Cupid, the sun has a quiver full of destroying or fertilizing arrows.[44] The arrow has a masculine significance: hence the Oriental custom of describing brave sons as the arrows or javelins of their father. "To make sharp arrows" is an Arabic expression for "begetting valiant sons." To announce the birth of a son the Chinese used to hang a bow and arrow in front of the house. Accordingly the Psalms (127:4, RV) say: "As arrows in the hand of a mighty man, so are the children of youth." Thanks to this meaning of the arrow, we can see why the Scythian king Ariantes, wishing to prepare a census, demanded an arrow-head from each man.[45] A similar significance attaches to the lance: men are descended from the lance, because the ash is the mother of lances, therefore the men of the Bronze Age are derived from her. Kaineus[46] commanded that his lance was to be worshipped. Pindar says of this Kaineus that, in the legend, he descended into the depths, splitting the earth with a straight foot.[47] Originally he is supposed to have been a maiden

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[42] Wegener, 77ff.

[43] Apart [illegible] golden [illegible] make use of the [illegible] lodged in my heart [illegible] have been [illegible] and now the bow [illegible] wounded [illegible]

[44] An [illegible] begetting [illegible] In [illegible]

[45] Herodotus, IV, 81 [illegible] trans. [illegible]

[46] Cf. Roscher, *Lexikon*, III, 894ff., s.v. "Kaineus."

[47] Pindar [illegible] the idea of splitting the earth [illegible] can make men [illegible] The earth [illegible] upon man [illegible] Man [illegible] again. [illegible] being [illegible] the earth. The [illegible] The Persian hero Tishtriya, taking the form of a white horse, split open the rain-lake

named Kainis, who, as a reward for her submissiveness, was changed by Poseidon into an invulnerable man, Kaineus. During the battle of the Lapithae with the invulnerable Kaineus, [illegible] the Centaurs covered him completely with trees because that was the only way they could get at him. [illegible]

His end is uncertain. Some say that his body was thrust down by the weight of the trees into Tartarus, but the son of Ampyx [illegible] For [illegible] he saw a bird with golden wings fly up [illegible][48]

440 Roscher[49] interprets this bird as the golden plover (*Charadrius pluvialis*), which gets its name from the fact that it lives in a χαράδρα, [illegible]. Its singing heralds the rain.

441 Once again we recognize the typical elements of a hero myth: original bisexuality, immortality (invulnerability) by entering into the mother, splitting the mother with the foot, resurrection, as a soul-bird, and production of fertility (rain). When a hero of this type causes his image to be worshipped, he presumably does so because he thinks it a valid equivalent of himself.

442 From this same angle the passage in Job, which we quoted in Part I, appears in a new light:

He hath set me up for his mark.
His archers compass me round about,
He cleaveth my reins asunder, and doth not spare;
He poureth out my gall upon the ground.
He breaketh me with breach upon breach,
He runneth upon me like a giant.[50]

443 Here Job is voicing the torment of soul caused by the onslaught of unconscious desires; the libido festers in his flesh, a cruel God has overpowered him and pierced him through with barbed thoughts that agonize his whole being.

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[47] [illegible]

[48] *Metamorphoses*, trans. by Miller, II, pp. [illegible], modified.

[49] In a review of Meyer's *Indogermanische Mythen*, in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, I (1884), p. 155.

[50] Job 16:12ff.

444 The same image occurs in Nietzsche:

Stretched out, shivering,
Like one half dead whose feet are warmed,
Shaken by unknown fevers,
Shuddering from thine icy pointed arrows of frost,
Hunted by thee, O thought,
Unutterable! veiled! horrible one!
Thou huntsman behind the clouds.
Struck to the ground by thee,
Thou mocking eye that gazed at me from the dark.
Thus do I lie,
Twisting, writhing, tortured
With eternal tortures,
Smitten
By thee, cruel huntsman,
Thou unknown—God

Smite deeper!
Smite once more!
Pierce, rend my heart!
What meaneth this torturing
With blunt-toothed arrows?
Why gazest thou again,
Never weary of human agony,
With sardonic gods' eyes, flashing lightning?
Why wilt thou not kill,
Only torture, torture?[61]

445 No long-drawn explanations are needed to see in this comparison the martyred and sacrificed god whom we have already met in the Aztec crucifixions and in the sacrifice of Odin.[62] We meet the same image in depictions of the martyrdom of St. Sebastian, where the glowing girlishly tender flesh of the young saint betrays all the pain of renunciation which the sensibility of the artist projected into it. An artist cannot prevent his work from being coloured by the psychology of his time. This is true in even higher degree of the Christian symbol, the Crucified pierced by the lance. It is a true symbol of the man of the Christian era, tormented by his desires and crucified in Christ.

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[61] *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, Werke, VI, pp. 369f. Cf. trans. by Common, p. 294.

[62] Spielrein's patient said that she too had been shot by God three times—"then came a resurrection of the spirit."

446 That the torment which afflicts mankind does not come from outside, but that man is his own huntsman, his own sacrificer, his own sacrificial knife, is clear from another poem of Nietzsche's, where the dualism is resolved into a psychic conflict through the same symbolism:

O Zarathustra,
Most cruel Nimrod!
Erstwhile hunter of God,
Snare of all virtue,
Arrow of evil!
And now
Self-hunted,
Thine own quarry,
Thyself pierced through . . .

Now
Alone with thyself
Split in thine own knowledge,
Amidst a hundred mirrors
To thine own self false,
Amidst a hundred memories
Uncertain,
Languishing with each wound,
Shivering with each frost,
Strangled in thine own snares,
Self-knower!
Self-hangman!

Why didst thou hang thyself
With the noose of thy wisdom?
Why hast thou enticed thyself
Into the old serpent's Paradise?
Why hast thou stolen
Into thyself, thyself?[68]

447 The deadly arrows do not strike the hero from without, it is himself who hunts, fights, and tortures himself. In him instinct wars with instinct; therefore the poet says, "Thyself pierced through," which means that he is wounded by his own arrow. As we know that the arrow is a libido-symbol, the mean-

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[68] "Between Birds of Prey," *Werke*, VIII, p. 414. [Cf. trans. in *Ecce Homo and Poetry*, by Ludovici, Cohn, et al., p. 179.

[illegible] piercing [illegible] is the act of union with oneself, a sort of self-fertilization, [illegible] a self-murder, so that Zarathustra can justly call himself his own hangman (like Odin, who sacrifices himself to Odin). One should not of course take [illegible] a sense [illegible] himself [illegible] as part of [illegible] against himself [illegible] his own [illegible] it can be taken as a [illegible] his [illegible] common with all men.

448 The wounding by one's own arrow signifies, therefore, a state of introversion. What this means we already know: the libido sinks into its own depths (a favourite image of Nietzsche's), and discovers there in the darkness a substitute for the upper world it has abandoned—the world of memories ("Amidst a hundred memories"), the strongest and most influential of which are the earliest ones. It is the world of the child, the paradisal state of early infancy, from which we are driven out by the relentless law of time. In this subterranean kingdom slumber sweet feelings of home and the hopes of all that is to be. As Heinrich says of his miraculous work in Gerhart Hauptmann's *The Sunken Bell*:

> There is a song lost and long forgotten,
> A song of home, a childlike song of love,
> Born in the waters of some fairy well,
> Known to all mortals, and yet heard by none.[84]

449 Yet "the danger is great,"[85] as Mephistopheles says, for these depths fascinate. When the libido leaves the bright upper world, whether from the decision of the individual or from decreasing life-force, it sinks back into its own depths, into the source from which it originally flowed, and returns to the point of cleavage, the navel, where it first entered the body. This point of cleavage is called the mother, because from her the current of life reached us. Whenever some great work is to be accomplished, before which a man

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[84] Trans. by Meltzer, p. 75.

[85] *Faust*, Part II: "The Mothers."

[illegible] him, and recaptured the Vedas.

450 This is a primitive way of [illegible] as the [illegible] archetype is always the [illegible]

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[44] This [illegible] represented in the legend of Theseus and [illegible] [illegible] here a representation of the [illegible]

[illegible] typical [illegible] age [illegible] When [illegible] Roman [illegible] the treasure [illegible] attain [illegible] and is only swallowed [illegible] the fear of incest must be conquered [illegible] the mother is not the mother herself [illegible] taboo [illegible] as a reason [illegible] resistance [illegible] so far as the [illegible] tendency [illegible] Ishtar and Gilgamesh [illegible] usually has [illegible] entirely disregarded [illegible] a venomous serpent [illegible] conscious towards the unconscious, the more dangerous [illegible] the latter Heracles.[87] [illegible] curse was [illegible] Philoctetes [illegible] that wounded himself in the foot with his own poisoned arrows or, according to other versions,[88] [illegible] he was [illegible] by a poisonous snake [illegible] and fell into a decline.[89]

[illegible] This very typical injury also destroyed Ra, and is described as follows in an Egyptian hymn:

The mouth of the god was convulsed with age,
So that he let his spittle fall to the earth,
And what he spat fell on the ground.
Isis then kneaded it with her hands
Together with the earth which was there;
She fashioned from it a noble worm
And made it like a spear.

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[87] [illegible] they [illegible] like the [illegible] of a horse [illegible] knew the way to her hidden [illegible] which is [illegible] and [illegible] wounded and [illegible] and in [illegible] hetical [illegible]

[88] Roscher, *Lexikon*, [illegible], s.v. "Philoctetes."

[89] When [illegible] the serpent [illegible] sick and [illegible] And when [illegible] Krishna [illegible] *Mythology*, II, pp. [illegible]

[90] [illegible] the mother. The myth [illegible] from whose breast he [illegible] from [illegible] killed his own [illegible] his task [illegible] was [illegible] and his [illegible] was [illegible] and [illegible] immortal fame [illegible] his great deeds [illegible] the mother and [illegible] His characteristic weapon, the club he cut from the

She did not wind it living about her face
But threw it in a coil upon the path
Upon which the great god was wont to walk
At pleasure through his two countries.
The noble god stepped forth in his splendour,
The gods who served Pharaoh accompanied him,
And he walked as he did each day.
Then the noble worm stung him . . .
The divine god opened his mouth
And the voice of his majesty rang through the heavens.
And the gods cried: Behold! Behold!
He could not answer them,
His jawbones chattered,
All his limbs trembled,
And the poison invaded his flesh
As the Nile invades his territory.[81]

452 In this hymn Egypt has preserved for us a primitive version of the snake-sting motif. The aging of the autumn sun as a symbol of human senility is traced back to poisoning by a serpent. The mother is blamed for causing the death of the sun-god with her mischievous arts. The serpent symbolizes the mysterious numen of the "mother" (and of other daemonia) who kills, but who is at the same time man's only security against death, as she is the source of life.[82] Accordingly, only the mother can cure him who is sick unto death, and the hymn goes on to describe how the gods were called together to take counsel:

Then came Isis with her wisdom,
Whose mouth is full of the breath of life,
Whose decree banishes pain,
And whose word gives life to those who no longer breathe.

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maternal olive-tree. Like the sun, he possessed the arrows of Apollo. He conquered the Nemean lion in its cave, whose meaning is "the grave in the mother's womb" (see the end of this chapter). Then follows the fight with the Hydra (cf. also fig. 15) and his other deeds, which were all wished on him by Hera. All of them symbolize the fight with the unconscious. At the end of his career, however, he became the slave of Omphale (ὀμφαλός, "navel") as the oracle prophesied; that is, he had to submit after all to the unconscious.

[81] This and the following passages taken from Erman, pp. 265-67, modified.

[82] How concretely this mythologem is taken on the primitive level can be seen from the description in Gaul, *South of the Sahara*, pp. 228ff., of a medicine-woman in Natal who had a twenty-foot boa constrictor as her familiar.

She said: What is it, what is it, divine Father?
Behold, a worm has done thee this wrong.

Tell me thy name, divine Father,
For he whose name is spoken shall live.

453 Ra answers:

I am he who created heaven and earth, and piled up the mountains,
And made all living things.
I am he who made the water and created the great flood,
Who made the Bull of his Mother,
Who is the Begetter.

The poison did not depart, it went farther,
The great god was not healed.
Then said Isis to Ra:
That is not thy name which thou tellest me.
Tell me thy name, that the poison may depart,
For he whose name is spoken shall live.

454 Finally Ra decides to utter his true name. He was only partially cured, just as Osiris was only incompletely reconstituted, and in addition he lost his power and finally had to retire on the back of the heavenly cow.

455 The poisonous worm is a deadly instead of an animating form of libido. The true name is Ra's soul and magic power (his libido). What Isis demands is the transference of libido to the mother. This request is fulfilled to the letter, for the ageing god returns to the heavenly cow, the symbol of the mother.

456 The meaning of this symbolism becomes clear in the light of what we said earlier: the forward-striving libido which rules the conscious mind of the son demands separation from the mother, but his childish longing for her prevents this by setting up a psychic resistance that manifests itself in all kinds of neurotic fears—that is to say, in a general fear of life. The more a person shrinks from adapting himself to reality, the greater becomes the fear which increasingly besets his path at every point. Thus a vicious circle is formed: fear of life and people causes more shrinking back, and this in turn leads to infantilism and finally into the mother. The reasons for this are generally projected outside oneself: the fault lies with external circumstances, or else the parents are made responsible. And indeed, it remains

[illegible]

[illegible] beyond the proper time. It is [illegible]

[illegible] from him while he slept.

[illegible]

Apparently it is a hostile demon who robs him of energy, but in actual fact it is his own unconscious, whose alien tendencies are beginning to check the forward striving of the

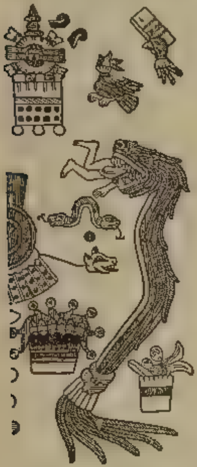

Fig. 30. Quetzalcoatl devouring a man
From the Codex Borbonicus, Aztec, 16th century

conscious mind. The cause of this process is often extremely obscure, the more so as it is complicated by all kinds of external factors and subsidiary causes, such as difficulties in work, disappointments, failures, reduced efficiency due to age, depressing family problems, and so on and so forth. According to the myths

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Cf. Heracles and Omphale.

[illegible]

source of energy for an heroic conflict; indeed, so obvious is this impression that one has to ask oneself whether the apparent enmity of the maternal archetype is not a ruse on the part of Mater Natura for spurring on her favoured child to his highest achievement. The vengeful Hera would then appear as the "stern Mistress Soul," who imposes the most difficult labours on her hero and threatens him with destruction unless he plucks up courage for the supreme deed and actually becomes what he always potentially was. The hero's victory over the "mother," or over her daemonic representative (dragon, etc.), is never anything but temporary. What must be regarded as regression in a young person—feminization of the man (partial identity with the mother) and masculinization of the woman (partial identity with the father)—acquires a different meaning in the second half of life. The assimilation of contrasexual tendencies then becomes a task that must be fulfilled in order to keep the libido in a state of progression. The task consists in integrating the unconscious, in bringing together "conscious" and "unconscious." I have called this the individuation process, and for further details must refer the reader to my later works.[60a] At this stage the mother symbol no longer connects back to the beginnings, but points towards the unconscious as the creative matrix of the future. "Entry into the mother" then means establishing a relationship between the ego and the unconscious. Nietzsche probably means something of the kind in his poem:

Why hast thou enticed thyself
Into the old serpent's Paradise?
Why hast thou stolen
Into thyself, thyself?

A sick man now,
Sick of the serpent's poison,[61]
A captive now
Who drew the hardest lot
Bent double
Working in thine own pit

[60a] [Cf. especially "A Study in the Process of Individuation."—EDITORS.]

[61] Spitteler's patient was also sick from "snake poison" (p. 98). Schreber said he was infected by "corpse poison," that "soul murder" had been committed on him, etc. (pp. 54ff.).

Encaved within thyself,
Burrowing into thyself,
Heavy-handed,
Stiff,
A corpse—
Piled with a hundred burdens,
Loaded to death with thyself,
A knower!
Self-knower!
The wise Zarathustra!
You sought the heaviest burden
And found yourself.[57]

460 Sunk in his own depths, he is like one buried in the earth, a dead man who has crawled back into the mother;[58] a Kaineus "piled with a hundred burdens" and pressed down to death, groaning beneath the intolerable weight of his own self and his own destiny. Who does not think here of Mithras, who, in the Taurophoria, [illegible] the Egyptian hymn says, the bull of his mother, [illegible] his Mater Natura, on his back, and with this heaviest burden set out on the via dolorosa of the Transitus?[59] The way of this passion leads to the cave in which the bull is sacrificed. So, too, Christ had to bear the Cross[60] to the place of sacrifice where, according to the Christian version, the Lamb was slain [illegible]

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[57] "Between Birds of Prey," Werke, VIII, p. 414. [Cf. trans. in Ecce Homo and Poetry, by Ludovici et al., p. 179.]

[58] Spitteler [illegible] uses the same image: he speaks of the [illegible] of [illegible] of stone [illegible] who must be [illegible]

[59] Cumont says: "The carrying of the bull is one of the difficult tasks which Mithras performed for the redemption of mankind; it corresponds in a sense, if we may compare small things with great, to Christ's carrying the cross."

[60] [illegible] makes an interesting [illegible] Samson [illegible] he [illegible] the pillars of the [illegible] of Gaza and died between the pillars of the [illegible] The Pillars of Hercules mark the point in the west where the sun sinks into the sea. [illegible] he was [illegible] carrying the two pillars in such a way under his arms that they form a cross. Here probably we have the origin of the [illegible] of Jesus carrying his own cross to the place of execution. [illegible] though the three Synoptists substitute for Jesus as cross-bearer one Simon, a man of Cyrene (Cyrene is in Libya, the legendary scene, as we saw, of the pillar-carrying exploit of Heracles

[illegible]

486 [illegible]

[illegible]

turned forever in the wind

[illegible]

[illegible] was taken over from [illegible] The [illegible] of Miss Miller's it seems that at the time of these fantasies she was staying [illegible] at an age when [illegible] was an urgent [illegible] It [illegible] with a breaking away [illegible] environment. It is not possible to live too long amid infantile surroundings, or in the bosom of the family, without endangering one's psychic health. Life calls us forth to independence, and anyone who does not heed this call because of childish laziness or timidity is threatened with neurosis. And once this has broken out, it becomes an increasingly valid reason for running away from life and remaining forever in the morally poisonous atmosphere of infancy.

[illegible] The fantasy of the [illegible] [illegible] Miss Miller [illegible] that Miss Miller has crossed the [illegible] [illegible] her own [illegible]

[illegible] It is natural to assume [illegible] Chiwantopel's heroism means that the impending [illegible] pasteboard hero has been temporarily postponed, the conscious mind is not yet ready to come to a decision by itself but prefers to adopt the ostrich policy of burying its head in unconsciousness. Chiwantopel must fall, because the power of decision locked up in the unconscious, which is at present keeping the nerveless figure of the hero erect, is needed to strengthen the conscious mind; for without the co-operation of the unconscious and its instinctive forces the conscious personality would be too weak to wrench itself free from its infantile past and venture into a strange world with all its unforeseen possibilities. The whole of the libido is needed for the battle of life. The dreamer cannot bring herself to this decision, which would tear aside all sentimental attachments to childhood, to father and mother, and yet it must be taken if she wishes to follow the call of her individual destiny.

VII

THE DUAL MOTHER[1]

464 After his assailant has disappeared, Chiwantopel begins the following monologue:

> From the top of this backbone[2] of these continents, from the farthest lowlands, I have wandered for a hundred moons since quitting my father's palace, forever pursued by my mad desire to find "her who will understand." With jewels I tempted many beautiful women; with kisses tried I to draw out the secret of their hearts, with deeds of daring I won their admiration. (He reviews one after another the women he has known.) Chi-ta, the princess of my own race . . . she was a fool, vain as a peacock, with nothing in her head except trinkets and perfumes. Ta-nan, the peasant girl . . . bah, a perfect sow, nothing but a bust and a belly, thinking of nothing but pleasure. And then Ki-ma, the priestess, a mere parrot, repeating the empty phrases learnt from the priests, all for show, without real education or sincerity, mistrustful, affected, hypocritical! . . . Alas! Not one who understands me, not one who resembles me or has a soul that is sister to mine. There is not one among them all who has known my soul, not one who could read my thoughts—far from it; not one capable of seeking the shining summits with me, or of spelling out with me the superhuman word Love!

465 Here Chiwantopel admits that his travels and wanderings are a search for the other, for the beloved, and for the meaning of life that is to be found in union with her. This possibility was merely hinted at in the first part of the book. The fact that the seeker is masculine and the sought-for feminine is not so very remarkable, since the prime object of unconscious desire is the mother, as should be clear from what we have already said. "She who understands" is, in infantile speech, the

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[1] See pl. [illegible] bearing [illegible]

[2] This is an allusion to the Andes and the Rocky Mountains.—Note by Flournoy.

instinct. The original [illegible] the comprehend[illegible] [illegible] ready to seize [illegible] [illegible] when it asks [illegible] and what [illegible] the [illegible] its mother. [illegible] the greatest [illegible] [illegible] development. [illegible] as necessary [illegible] the sheltering [illegible] of the mother's arms and fails to keep pace with the passing of time. [illegible] described as [illegible] and [illegible] Being [illegible] of the mother and [illegible] substance [illegible] and compose [illegible] from [illegible]

³ When a person [illegible] ought to have [illegible] in the form of [illegible] [illegible] the seeker [illegible] [illegible] the man whom the [illegible] contact with [illegible] woman [illegible] [illegible] with the [illegible] [illegible]

460 It is in this situation that [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] and the woman [illegible] [illegible] that he can [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] while making use of the [illegible] relationship [illegible] the mother. Cf. *Psychology and Alchemy*, par. 141

[illegible]

467 [illegible]

[illegible]

458 [illegible]

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[4] See "On the Nature of the Psyche," Sec. VII.

[5] Cf. Harding, *The Way of All Women*.

[illegible] material value it goes for nothing.

470 [illegible]

471 [illegible]

[illegible] Another source mentioned by Miss Miller [illegible] (1759), was not available to me [illegible] set the same heroic example as Christ, who also tore himself from his family and even spoke these bitter words (Matthew 10:34ff.):

> Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword.
>
> For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter in law against her mother in law.
>
> And a man's foes shall be they of his own household.
>
> He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me. . . .

471 Hiawatha snatches the head-dress from his mother, the emblem of her power. Nietzsche says:

> We must suppose that a mind in which the ideal of the "free spirit" could ripen to perfection has had its decisive experience in a great liberation, and that before then it was all the more a fettered spirit and seemed chained for ever to its corner and its pillar. What binds most tightly? What bonds are well-nigh unbreakable? For men of a superior and select type they are their duties: the reverence that befits youth, reserve and tenderness for all the time-honoured and valued things, gratitude for the soil whence they grew, for the hand that guided them, for the sanctuary where they learnt to pray—their highest moments themselves are the very ones that bind them most firmly, that put them under the most enduring obligations. The great liberation comes suddenly to those who are so bound. . . .
>
> "Better to die than to live here"—so says the imperious voice of temptation, and this "here," this "at home," is all that it had loved hitherto! A sudden fear and suspicion of what it loved, a lightning-flash of contempt for its so-called "duty," a rebellious, arbitrary, volcanically impelling desire for travel, strangeness, estrangement, coldness, sobriety, frost, a hatred of love, perhaps a sacrilegious grasp and glance backwards to everything it had worshipped and loved till then, perhaps a blush of shame at what it was just doing, and at the same time an exultation over having done it, an intoxicating

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[illegible] Cf. the [illegible] which [illegible] Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* (tr. by Babbitt, V, pp. 48f.): "If they hold such opinions and tell such tales about the blessed and imperishable nature, in accordance with which our concept of the divine must be framed, as if such deeds and occurrences actually took place, then 'Much need there is to spit and cleanse the mouth,' as Aeschylus has it."

inner thrill of joy would signify yes, victory over what? over whom? an enigmatic, question-laden, questioning victory, but the first victory nevertheless. Of such evil and painful things is the history of the great emancipation composed. It is like a disease that can easily destroy the man, this first eruption of strength and will to self-determination. . . .[8]

472 The danger, as Nietzsche sees, lies in isolation within oneself:

> Solitude surrounds and encircles him, ever more threatening, ever more constricting, ever more heart-strangling, that terrible goddess and *Mater saeva cupidinum*.[9]

473 The libido that is withdrawn so unwillingly from the "mother" turns into a threatening serpent, symbolizing the fear of death—for the relationship to the mother must cease, *must die*, and this is almost the same as dying oneself. That is to say, the violence of the separation is proportionate to the strength of the bond uniting the son with the mother, and the stronger it is broken than it was in the first place, the more dangerously does the "mother" approach him in the guise of the unconscious. This is indeed the *Mater saeva cupidinum*, savage mother of desire, who in another form now threatens to devour the erstwhile fugitive. Note the snake symbolism.

474 Miss Miller now gives us a further reference, this time to something that influenced her fantasies in a more general way, namely Longfellow's great narrative poem, *The Song of Hiawatha*.[10] My reader must frequently have wondered at the number of times I adduce apparently very remote material for purposes of comparison and how I enlarge the basis upon which Miss Miller's creations rest. He may also have doubted whether it is justifiable even on the basis of such scanty suggestions

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[8] *Human, All Too Human*, trans. by Zimmern and Cohn, II, pp. 4f., modified.

[9] Ibid., II, p. 6.

[10] [Published 1855. It is based on American Indian legend, drawing its sources mainly from the work of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, a pioneer of American Indian ethnology. Hiawatha was historically a sixteenth-century Iroquoian leader, but the ethnology and legendary material of the poem are Algonquian. (Cf. *Standard Dictionary of Folklore*, s.v. "Hiawatha.") Longfellow derived the metre from the Finnish epic *Kalevala*.—EDITORS.]

[illegible] and the modern American psyche.

475 [illegible] this epic more closely

476 Nawadaha sings the songs of Hiawatha, the friend of man:[41]

There he sang of Hiawatha,
Sang the songs of Hiawatha,
Sang his wondrous birth and being,
How he prayed and how he fasted,
How he lived, and toiled and suffered,
That the tribes of men might prosper,
That he might advance his people!

477 The teleological significance of the hero as a symbolic figure who attracts libido to himself in the form of wonder and adoration, in order to lead it over the symbolic bridge of myth to higher uses, is already anticipated here. Thus we quickly become acquainted with Hiawatha as a saviour, and are prepared to hear all that is usually said about such a figure, about his miraculous birth, his mighty deeds in youth, and his sacrifice for his fellow men. The first canto opens with an "Evangelium": Gitche Manito, the "master of life," weary of the squabbles of his human children, calls his people together and makes known to them the joyous message:

I will send a Prophet to you,
A Deliverer of the nations,
Who shall guide you and shall teach you,
Who shall toil and suffer with you.
If you listen to his counsels,
You will multiply and prosper;
If his warnings pass unheeded,
You will fade away and perish!

478 Gitche Manito the Mighty, "the creator of the nations,"[42] is shown standing erect on the great Red Pipestone quarry:

From his footprints flowed a river,
Leaped into the light of morning,
O'er the precipice plunging downward
Gleamed like Ishkoodah, the comet.

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[41] On the motif of the friend, see my paper "Concerning Rebirth," pars. 240ff.

[42] The figure of Gitche Manito can be regarded as a kind of Original Man (Anthropos).

[illegible] Gnostic ideas. In the Mysteries of Saint John and the Holy Virgin we read:

> The Cherubim answered and said: [illegible] that the water is water [illegible] the Father [illegible] free [illegible] but at the time when God is about to bring the water up [illegible] against Him. He is wont to make [illegible] because of the sins of men.

By the water is meant the Nile, on which Egypt's fertility depended.

It is [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

17 Humboldt, Cosmos, I, p. 99, n.

It rests upon a forest so that the trees rub against one another and must [illegible] fire. Here [illegible] too is a libido-symbol [illegible]

482 After this prelude there follows in the second canto the story of the hero's antecedents. His father, the great warrior Mudjekeewis, has overcome by stratagem the great bear, the [illegible], and stolen from him the magic belt of wampum, a girdle of shells. Here we meet the motif of the "treasure hard to attain," which the hero wrests from the monster. Who the bear was comes out in the poet's comparisons. Mudjekeewis strikes the bear on the head after robbing him of the treasure:

With the heavy blow bewildered
Rose the great Bear of the mountains,
But his knees beneath him trembled,
And he whimpered like a woman.

483 Mudjekeewis said to him mockingly:

Else you would not cry and whimper
Like a miserable woman! . . .
But you, Bear! sit here and whimper,
And disgrace your tribe by crying,
Like a wretched Shaugodaya,
Like a cowardly old woman!

484 These three comparisons with a woman occur on the same page. What Mudjekeewis slays is his feminine component, the anima image, whose first carrier is the mother. Like a true hero, he has snatched life from the jaws of death, from the all-devouring Terrible Mother. This deed, which as we have seen is also depicted as the journey to hell, the night sea journey (cf. pars. [illegible]), or the conquest of the monster from within, signifies at the same time entry into the mother's womb, a rebirth that has notable consequences for Mudjekeewis. As in the Zosimos vision, so here the entrant becomes the pneuma, a wind or spirit. Mudjekeewis becomes the West Wind, the fertilizing breath, the father of the winds.[9] His sons become the other

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[9] Porphyry, *De antro nympharum*, p. [illegible], says that, according to [illegible], the ancients very reasonably connected winds with souls proceeding into generation and again separating themselves [illegible] because [illegible] souls attract a spirit and have a pneumatic nature."

winds. An intermezzo tells of them and their loves, of which I will mention only the courtship of Wabun, the East Wind, because the wind's wooing is described in particularly graphic language. Every morning he sees a beautiful girl in the meadow, whom he eagerly courts.

Every morning, gazing earthward,
Still the first thing he beheld there
Was her blue eyes looking at him,
Two blue lakes among the rushes.

485 The comparison with water is not irrelevant, because from wind and water shall man be born anew.

And he wooed her with caresses,
Wooed her with his smile of sunshine,
With his flattering words he wooed her,
With his sighing and his singing,
Gentlest whispers in the branches,
Softest music, sweetest odors.

486 The caressing courtship of the wind is beautifully expressed in the lilting onomatopoeia.[19]

487 The third canto gives us the antecedents of Hiawatha's two mothers. We are told that as a girl his grandmother lived in the moon. One day when she was swinging on a grape-vine, a jealous lover cut it down, and Nokomis, Hiawatha's grandmother, fell to earth. The people who saw her fall thought she was a shooting star. The wonderful origin of Nokomis is explained more fully in the course of the same song. Young Hiawatha asks his grandmother what the moon really is. She tells him that the moon is the *body of a grandmother* who had been thrown up there by one of her warlike grandchildren in a fit of rage. (Cf. fig. 42.)[20] According to the ancient belief, the moon is the gath-

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[19] In the Mithraic Liturgy the generating breath of the spirit comes from the sun, presumably from the "sun-tube" (cf. Part I, pars. 149–54). There is a similar idea in the Rig-Veda, where the sun is called "one-footed." Cf. the Armenian prayer that the sun may set its foot to rest on the face of the worshipper. Abeghian, *Der armenische Volksglaube*, p. 45.

[20] [The Haida myth upon which the version in the text is based tells of a woman who offended the moon and was taken up thence together with her water pail and a berry bush she grasped in trying to save herself. Cf. Swanton, *Ethnology of the Haida*, p. 142.—EDITORS.]

the place of departed souls[21] (fig. 31), a guardian of the seed and hence a source of life with a feminine significance. The remarkable thing is that Nokomis, when she fell to earth, gave birth to a daughter, Wenonah, who afterwards became the mother of Hiawatha. The throwing upward of the mother, her fall, and birth pangs seem to be something altogether typical. A seventeenth-century story relates that a raging bull tossed a pregnant woman "as high as a house" and tore open her body, and the child fell to earth without injury. This child, on account of his wonderful birth, was supposed to be a hero or miracle-worker, but he died young. There is a widespread belief among primitives that the sun is feminine and the moon masculine. Among the Namaqua Hottentots the sun is thought to consist of "clear bacon-fat." "Those who travel on boats," we read,[22] "draw it down by magic every evening, and after cutting off a sizeable piece, kick it up again into the sky." In infancy food comes from the mother. In the fantasies of the Gnostics there is a legend about the origin of man which may be of some

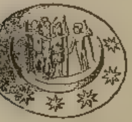

Fig. 31. The moon as the abode of souls
Chalcedon gem, 1st century B.C.

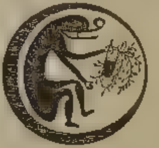

Fig. 32. The woman in the moon
Tattoo pattern, Haida Indians, Northwest America

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[21] Firmicus Maternus, *Matheseos libri octo*, I, 5, 9, in edn. of Kroll et al., pp. 16–17: "Luna animae descensus per orbem solis tribuitur, per orbem vero lunae praeparatur ascensus." (The soul is believed to descend through the disc of the sun, but its ascent is prepared through the disc of the moon.) Lydus (*De mensibus* IV, 2, in Wünsch edn., p. 66) reports the saying of the hierophant Praetextus that Janus "sends the diviner souls into the lunar throng." Epiphanius (*Adversus octoginta haereses*, LXVI, 52): "the disc of the moon is filled with souls." It is the same in exotic myths. Cf. Frobenius, *Zeitalter*, pp. 352ff.

[22] Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, II, p. 342.

relevance here. The female archons who were bound to the vault of heaven were unable, on account of its rapid rotation, to keep their young within them, but let them fall to earth, where they grew into human beings. (This may be connected with certain barbarous obstetric methods, in which women in labour were dropped or thrown to the ground.) The assault on the mother begins with the Mudjekeewis episode and is continued in the violent treatment of Grandmother Nokomis, who, as a result of the cutting of the grapevine and her fall to earth, seems to have become pregnant in some way. The plucking of the branch—this, as we have already seen, is an infringement of the incest taboo. The song about "Saxonland, where beautiful maidens grow upon trees," or proverbs like "stolen fruits are sweetest," point to a similar idea. The Fall of Nokomis deserves comparison with a poetical figure in Heine:

A star, a star is falling
    Out of the glittering sky!
The star of Love! I watch it
    Sink in the depths and die.

The leaves and buds are falling
    From many an apple-tree;
I watch the mirthful breezes
    Embrace them wantonly.[23]

488 Wenonah is later wooed by the caressing West Wind and is made pregnant by him. Being a young moon-goddess, she is as beautiful as the moonlight. Nokomis warns her of the dangerous courtship of Mudjekeewis, but Wenonah allows herself to become infatuated and conceives from the breath of the West Wind a son, our hero:

And the West Wind came at evening . . .
Found the beautiful Wenonah
Lying there among the lilies,
Wooed her with his words of sweetness,
Wooed her with his soft caresses
Till she bore a son in sorrow
Bore a son of love and sorrow.

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[23] Trans. by Untermeyer, p. 78.

489 The star or comet plainly belongs to the birth-scene; Nokomis, too, comes to earth as a falling star. Mörike's poetic fancy imagined another such divine conception:

And she who bore me in her womb
And gave me food and clothing
She was a maid, a wild, brown maid,
Who looked on men with loathing.

She fleered at them and laughed aloud,
And bade no suitor tarry;
"I'd rather be the Wind's own bride
Than have a man and marry."

Then came the Wind and held her fast,
His captive, love-enchanted;
And lo, by him a merry child
Within her womb was planted.[24]

490 The same idea can be seen in the story of Buddha's marvellous birth, as told by Sir Edwin Arnold:

Maya the queen . . .
Dreamed a strange dream; dreamed that a star from heaven—
Splendid, six-rayed, in colour rosy-pearl,
Whereof the token was an Elephant
Six-tusked and white as milk of Kamadhuk—
Shot through the void; and, shining into her,
Entered her womb upon the right.[25] [Pl. xlix*b*]

491 During the conception,

A wind blew
With unknown freshness over lands and seas.

492 After the birth the four genii of the East, West, North, and South come to offer their services as palanquin-bearers. (Cf. the coming of the Wise Men at the birth of Christ.) To complete the symbolism there is in the Buddha myth, besides the fertilization by star and wind, fertilization by a theriomorphic sym-

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[24] [As trans. in the Hinkle edn. (1916), pp. 254f.]

[25] *The Light of Asia*, Book I, p. 5. The elephant is shown penetrating Maya's side with his trunk. According to a medieval tradition, Mary's conception of Jesus took place through the ear.

led, the elephant was, as has been said, [illegible] In Christian [illegible] a symbol of the community. [illegible][36]

493 At this point we must ask ourselves why the birth of the hero always has to take place under such extraordinary circumstances. One would think it possible for a hero to be born in the normal manner, and then gradually to grow out of his humble and familiar surroundings, perhaps with a great deal of effort and many dangers. [illegible] in the hero-myth. As a general rule, however, the story of his origins is miraculous. The singular circumstances of his procreation and birth are part and parcel of the hero myth. What is the reason for these beliefs?

494 The answer to this question is that the hero is not born like an ordinary mortal because his birth is a rebirth from the mother-wife. That is why the hero so often has two mothers. As Rank[37] has shown with a wealth of examples, the hero is frequently exposed and then reared by foster-parents. In this way he gets two mothers. An excellent example is the relation of Heracles to Hera. In the Hiawatha, Wenonah dies after giving birth and her place is taken by Nokomis.[38] Buddha too was brought up by a foster-mother. The foster-mother is sometimes an animal, [illegible] Romulus and Remus, [illegible] The dual mother may be replaced by the motif of dual birth, which has [illegible] in various religions. In Christianity, for example, baptism represents a rebirth, as we have already seen. Man is not merely born in the commonplace sense, but is born again in a mysterious manner, and so partakes of divinity. Anyone who is reborn in this way becomes a hero, a semi-divine being. Thus Christ's redemptive death on the cross was understood as a [illegible] that is to say, as [illegible] the second mother, the [illegible] [illegible] Luke 12 : 50 [illegible] how am I straitened till it be accomplished!"

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[36] Cf. *Psychology and Alchemy*, pars. 518ff.

[37] *The Myth of the Birth of the Hero.*

[38] [illegible] part of the [illegible] The same idea [illegible] maiden who dies away again [illegible]

it renders [illegible] as the process of rebirth.

495 [illegible] One of the [illegible] is the [illegible] being [illegible] as being supernatural [illegible]. She can also be represented [illegible]. In certain cases she may be human [illegible], and here we are dealing with projections of archetypal [illegible] upon persons in the [illegible] which [illegible] for instance the [illegible] part [illegible] There are [illegible].

496 He who stems from two mothers [illegible] the first birth [illegible] a mortal [illegible] Hiawatha [illegible] What Hiawatha [illegible]. We have already examined [illegible] the New Year [illegible] St. John [illegible]. One has only to think of the words of the Baptist: [illegible] After me cometh a man which is preferred before me: for he was before me." [illegible] In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was

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[illegible] the [illegible] par. 540ff.

in the beginning [illegible] and [illegible] sun [illegible] the words "INTROITUS SOLIS."

497 Because [illegible] the story of his procreation is [illegible] at the same time [illegible] with this [illegible] as a [illegible] the latter [illegible] correspond [illegible] towards [illegible] She is [illegible] inner sun [illegible] tran-scendent wholeness—the self.[30]

498 As [illegible] god [illegible] passes his [illegible] great lake:

By the shores of Gitche Gumee,
By the shining Big-Sea-Water
Stood the wigwam of Nokomis,
Daughter of the moon, Nokomis.
Dark behind it rose the forest,
Rose the [illegible] trees,
Rose the firs with cones upon them;
Bright before it beat the water,
Beat the clear and sunny water,
Beat the shining Big-Sea-Water.

499 In these [illegible] Here she [illegible] first [illegible] and [illegible] The [illegible] pp. [illegible]

the secrets of the water and the forest mingled with them, so that he learned to understand not only the language of men, but the language of nature:

At the door on summer evenings
Sat the little Hiawatha,
Heard the whispering of the pine-trees,
Heard the lapping of the water,
Sounds of music, words of wonder:
"Minne-wawa!" said the pine-trees,
"Mudway-aushka!" said the water.

500 Hiawatha hears human speech in the sounds of nature; thus he understands nature's language. The wind says "wawa." The [illegible] says "wawa." Wah-wah-taysee is the name of the little glow-worm that enchants him. Thus the poet describes the gradual drawing [illegible] of external nature into the world of the subject, and the contamination of the primary object, the mother, to whom those first lisping words were addressed and from whom the first sounds were caught, with the secondary object, nature, which imperceptibly usurps the mother's place and takes over the sounds first heard from her, together with all those feelings we later rediscover in ourselves in our warm love for Mother Nature. The subsequent blending, whether pantheistic or aesthetic, of the sensitive, civilized man with nature[3] is, looked at retrospectively, a reblending with the mother, who was our first object, and with whom we were truly and wholly one. She was our first experience of an outside and at the same time of an inside; from that interior world there emerged an image, apparently a reflection of the external mother-image, yet older, more original and more imperishable than this—a mother who changed back into a Kore, into an eternally youthful figure. This is the anima, the personification of the collective unconscious. So it is not surprising if we see the old images rising up again in the pantheistic language of a

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[3] Karl Joël [illegible] philosopher, says: "Life is most [illegible] in artists and p[illegible] they are its guardians [illegible] becomes [illegible] being found again. It is not [illegible] the oneness [illegible] differen[illegible] [illegible] a struggling back into balance. We find this return home in religion and art."

[illegible] Karl Joël, illustrating this sentiment with the [illegible] of the [illegible] and [illegible] the unconscious. [illegible] account of this "Primal Experience".[42]

"I lay on the seashore, the shimmering flood blinking in my dreamy eyes; a gentle breeze fluttered in the distance; throbbing, shimmering, stirring, lulling comes the beat of the waves on the shore—or in the ear? I cannot tell. The far and the near become blurred into one; outside and inside merge into one another. Nearer and nearer, friendlier, like a homecoming, sounds the beat of the waves; now, like a thundering pulse, they beat in my head, now they beat over my soul, wrapping it round, consuming it, while at the same time my soul floats out of me as a blue waste of waters. Outside and inside are one. The whole symphony of sensations fades away into one tone, all senses become one sense, which is one with feeling; the world expires in the soul and the soul dissolves in the world. Our little life is rounded by a great sleep. Sleep our cradle, sleep our grave, sleep our home, from which we go forth in the morning, returning again at evening; our life a short pilgrimage, the interval between emergence from the original oneness and sinking back into it! Blue shimmers the infinite sea, where the jellyfish dreams of that primeval existence to which our thoughts still turn through aeons of time. For every experience entails a change and a guarantee of life's unity. At that moment when they are no longer blended together, in that instant when the experiencer lifts his head, blind and dripping, from immersion in the stream of experience, from flowing away with the thing experienced; when man, amazed and estranged, detaches the change from himself and holds it before him as something alien—at that moment of estrangement the two sides of the experience are substantialized into subject and object, and at that moment consciousness is born."[43]

501 Joël here describes, in unmistakable symbolism, the merging of subject and object as the reunion of mother and child. The symbols agree with those of mythology, even in their details. There is a distinct allusion to the encircling and devouring motif. The sea that [illegible]

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[42] By "primal experience" is meant [illegible] human [illegible] to be seen with [illegible] which [illegible] the human animal [illegible] means by which he separated himself from the [illegible] of nature.

[43] *Seele und Welt.*

is in no danger, [illegible] the [illegible] of his [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] as [illegible] [illegible] with little wings as a [illegible] [illegible] human [illegible] beyond whose simple [illegible] The image of the jellyfish is far from accidental. Once when I was explaining to a patient the maternal significance of water, she experienced a very disagreeable sensation at this contact with the mother-complex. "It makes me squirm," she said, "as if I'd touched a jellyfish." The blessed state of sleep before birth and after death is, as Joël observes, rather like an old shadowy memory of that unsuspecting, unreflecting state of early childhood, when there is as yet no opposition to disturb the peaceful flow of slumbering life. Again and again an inner longing draws us back, but always the life of action must struggle in deadly fear to break free lest it fall into a state of sleep. Long before Joël, an Indian chief had expressed the same thing in the same words to one of the restless white men: "Ah, my brother, you will never know the happiness of thinking nothing and doing nothing. This is the most delicious thing there is, next to sleep. So we were before birth, and so we shall be after death."[33]

502 We shall see from the later destinies of Hiawatha how important his early childhood impressions were in the choice of a wife. Hiawatha's first deed was to kill the roebuck with his arrow:

Dead he lay there in the forest
By the ford across the river. . . .

503 This is typical of Hiawatha's deeds. Whatever he kills generally lies by or in the water, or, better still, half in water and half on land.[34] His subsequent adventures will explain why this is so. Further, the roebuck was no ordinary animal but a magic one with an unconscious [illegible] significance. Hiawatha made himself gloves and moccasins from its hide; the gloves gave such power to his arms that he could crumble rocks

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[33] Cf. [illegible], p. 467. I heard much the same thing from a chief of the Pueblo Indians, who told me the Americans were mad because they were so restless.

[34] The dragons of [illegible] live near springs or other waters, of which they are often the guardians. This links up with the motif of the struggle by the ford.

[illegible] Great Mother [illegible] Great Mother [illegible] Mother Nature [illegible]

[illegible]

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38 Where one can wade through the water—cf. what we said above about the [illegible] palis, etc.

animals, as when, as a horned viper in her husband's path, in short, they can be interpreted as the Terrible Mother who devours and devours, and thus symbolizes death itself.[36] I remember the case of a mother who kept her children tied to her with unnatural love and devotion. At the time of the climacteric she fell into a depressive psychosis and had delirious states in which she saw herself as an animal, especially as a wolf or pig, and acted accordingly, running about on all fours, howling like a wolf or grunting like a pig. In her psychosis she had herself become the symbol of the all-devouring mother.

505 The explanation in terms of the parents is, however, simply a *façon de parler*. In reality the whole drama takes place in the individual's own psyche, where the "parents" are not the parents at all but only their imagos: they are representations which have arisen from the conjunction of parental peculiarities with the individual disposition of the child.[37] The imago is animated and vitalized in every possible manner by an energy which likewise pertains to the individual; it derives from the sphere of instinct and expresses itself as instinctuality. This is why it is represented, in dreams, by theriomorphic symbols. All the wild beasts, dogs, and snakes that populate our dreams represent an undifferentiated and as yet untamed libido, which at the same time forms part of the human personality and can therefore fittingly be characterized as the *anthropoid psyche*. Like energy, it never manifests itself as such but always in the form of a "force," that is to say in the form of something given, as a definite energy state [illegible] tension, etc. [illegible] states. It appears as the intensity of impulses, affects, activities, and so on. But these phenomena are never impersonal; [illegible] themselves like parts of the personality. The same is true of complexes: they too behave like parts of the personality.

506 It is this anthropoid psyche, which [illegible]

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[36] This is [illegible] which was [illegible] of a death [illegible] life.

[37] An example [illegible] organizing factor [illegible] the clock [illegible] how [illegible] the egg [illegible]

[illegible]

507 [illegible]

508 [illegible]

[illegible] symbols.

509 When [illegible] he was [illegible] as Paracelsus [illegible]

[illegible] just as a man enters the great synagogue and he stood there. The two eyes of the fish were [illegible] R. Meir [illegible] to Jonah, like [illegible] Jonah all that was in the sea and in the depths.[41]

510 In the darkness of the unconscious a treasure lies hidden, the same "treasure hard to attain" [illegible]

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[40] *Liber Azoth*, ed. by Sudhoff, XIV, p. 576.

[41] Trans. by Friedländer, ch. 10, p. 69.

preventing the [illegible] from getting [illegible] maternal corporeality of the mother. Never has the [illegible] been more [illegible] formulated than in the Nicodemus dialogue: on the one hand the impossibility [illegible] entering [illegible] into the mother's womb, on the other the [illegible] from water and spirit. The hero is a hero just because he sees resistance to the forbidden goal in all life's difficulties and yet fights that resistance with the whole-hearted yearning that strives towards the treasure hard to attain, and perhaps unattainable—a yearning that paralyses and kills the ordinary man.

5[illegible] Hiawatha's father is Mudjekeewis, the West Wind; the battle therefore is fought in the West. From that quarter came the fertilization of Wenonah, and also her death. Hence Hiawatha is fighting the typical battle of the hero for rebirth in the Western Sea. The fight is with the father, who is the obstacle barring the way to the goal. In other cases the fight in the West is a battle with the devouring mother. As we have seen, the danger comes from both parents: from the father because he apparently makes regression impossible, and from the mother because she absorbs the regressing libido and keeps it to herself, so that he who sought rebirth finds only death. Mudjekeewis [illegible] a [illegible] still [illegible] by ever-[illegible] the maternal [illegible] from [illegible] Five [illegible]

Back retreated Mudjekeewis,
Rushing westward o'er the mountains,
Stumbling westward down the mountains,
Three whole days retreated fighting,
Still pursued by Hiawatha
To the doorways of the West Wind,
To the portals of the Sunset,
To the earth's remotest border,
Where into the empty spaces
Sinks the sun, as a flamingo
Drops into her nest at nightfall.

5[illegible] The three days are a stereotyped expression for the night sea imprisonment [illegible] three days in the underworld. During [illegible] the West [illegible] there was the treasure [illegible] father is forced to make a [illegible] concession to the son; he gives [illegible] whose [illegible] he says to his son

> I will share my kingdom with you,
> Ruler shall you be henceforward
> Of the Northwest Wind, Keewaydin,
> Of the home-wind, the Keewaydin

[illegible] the ruler of the home-wind and his [illegible] where Gilgamesh [illegible] the West, [illegible] Hiawatha [illegible] a broad band [illegible] with a [illegible] daughter [illegible]

> And he named her from the river
> From the waterfall he named her,
> Minnehaha, Laughing Water.

[illegible] Hiawatha [illegible] in his [illegible] long [illegible] of the great lake [illegible] of the water [illegible] so that he can [illegible] first appears in the [illegible] and then transfers itself to the beloved.

[illegible] that [illegible] father is a skilled arrowmaker [illegible] as the beloved [illegible] the father [illegible] in its progressive [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] I am [illegible] *Arch. grecs*, III, i, 29.

sense.[44] The hero's father is often a master carpenter or some kind of artisan. According to an Arabian legend, Terah, the father of Abraham, was a master craftsman [illegible] a shaft from any bit of wood, which means in Arabic usage that he was a begetter of excellent sons.[45] In addition he was a maker of images. [illegible] the father of Agni, was the [illegible] architect, a smith and [illegible] and the inventor of the fire-boring [illegible]. Joseph, the father of Jesus, was a carpenter, and so was [illegible] the father of Adonis, who was supposed to have invented the hammer, the lever, [illegible] and mining. [illegible] the [illegible] was the first [illegible] sculptor. In [illegible] is made [illegible] the traditional [illegible]. In the Rig-Veda [illegible] world is [illegible] from a tree by the [illegible]. [illegible] water [illegible] law was an [illegible] means, therefore, that the [illegible] father [illegible] has been transferred [illegible]. It is [illegible] to the [illegible] a father [illegible] always [illegible] in the [illegible] man.[46] [illegible] it [illegible] so [illegible] that here places the [illegible] archetypal relations, we have [illegible].

516 The [illegible] father and the [illegible] as [illegible] self [illegible] when it has been [illegible] with the father. [illegible] and [illegible] itself [illegible] spear and [illegible] the father and [illegible] and his own daughter. This [illegible] found in the legend of Mani. He [illegible] as a religious teacher, then goes [illegible] is skinned, stuffed, and [illegible] that he [illegible] and as a cripple [illegible]. There is a similar [illegible] in Wieland the Smith.

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[44] Cf. [illegible] "Phenomenology of the Spirit in Fairytales," pars. 400ff.

[45] Vgl. [illegible] das Christentum, III, p. 82, cited in Drews, *The Christ Myth*, p. 116, n.

[46] An excellent example of [illegible] by Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* [illegible] and [illegible] I, p. [illegible]

517 Hiawatha keeps silent on his return to Nokomis about what he saw [illegible] his house, and did nothing further to win Minnehaha. But then something happens which, if it were [illegible] an Indian epic, we should rather have expected to find in the anamnesis of a neurosis. Hiawatha introverts his libido, puts up the most dogged resistance to the natural course of events, and builds himself a hut in the forest in order to fast and have dreams and visions. For the first three days he wanders through the forest as in his boyhood, looking at all the animals and plants:

"Master of Life!" he cried, desponding,
"Must our lives depend on these things?"

518 This question, as to whether our lives must depend on these things, is very strange. It sounds as if Hiawatha found it unendurable that life should come from these things, i.e., b[illegible] nature? Nature seems suddenly to have taken on an alien meaning. The only possible explanation for this is that a considerable quantity of libido which till now was unconscious has suddenly been either transferred to nature or withdrawn from it. At any rate, some crucial change has taken place in the general direction of feeling, consisting apparently in a regression of libido. Hiawatha returns home to Nokomis without having undertaken anything, but there again he is driven away, because Minnehaha is already standing in his path. So he withdraws himself still further back into the time of early boyhood, when he learnt to hear the mother-sounds in the sounds of nature, whose undertones now fill his mind with intimations of Minnehaha. In this reactivation of the impressions of nature we can see a revival of those very early and powerful impressions which are only surpassed by the still stronger impressions the child received from its mother. The glamour of its feeling for her is transferred to other objects in the child's environment, and from them there emanate in later years those magical, blissful feelings which are characteristic of the earliest memories of childhood. When therefore Hiawatha hides himself again in the lap of nature, what he is doing is to reawaken the relationship to the mother and to something older than the mother, and it is therefore to be expected that he will emerge reborn in some other form.

519 Before we turn to this new creation born of introversion, there is still another meaning to be considered in this question which lies hidden in [illegible] these songs. The fast period [illegible] these [illegible] at that period [illegible] because we would [illegible] side that the [illegible] close to one's heart. The question of nourishment has to be considered here, because regression to the mother is bound to revive the memory of the mother as the nourishing source. Incest is not the only aspect characteristic of regression; there is also the hunger that drives the child to its mother. When one gives up the struggle of life and regresses to the bosom of the family, in the last resort it is the mother's bosom one expects, not only to be warmed and loved but also to be fed. If the regression has an infantile character, it aims—though of course unconsciously—at incest and nourishment. But when the regression is only apparent and is in reality a purposive introversion of libido which tends towards a goal, then the [illegible] in any case, [illegible] the incest taboos must be avoided and the demand for nourishment replaced by intentional fasting, as was the case with Hiawatha. Such an attitude compels the libido to switch over to a symbol or to a symbolic equivalent of the mother—in other words, to the collective unconscious. Solitude and fasting have from time immemorial been the best known means of strengthening a meditation whose purpose is to open the way to the unconscious.

520 On the fourth day of his fast Hiawatha ceases to address himself to nature; he lies on his couch exhausted, with eyes half closed, sunk in his dreams, a picture of extreme introversion. We have already seen that in such states inner experiences take the place of external life and reality. Hiawatha then has a vision:

And he saw a youth approaching,
Dressed in garments green and yellow,
Coming through the purple twilight,
Through the splendour of the sunset;
Plumes of green bent o'er his forehead,
And his hair was soft and golden.

47 [illegible] means nourishing [illegible]

511 [illegible] Hiawatha as follows:

From the Master of Life descending,
I the friend of man, Mondamin,
Come to warn you and instruct you,
How by struggle and by labour
You shall gain what you have prayed for.
Rise up from your bed of branches,
Rise, O youth, and wrestle with me!

512 Mondamin [illegible] Hiawatha's [illegible] the [illegible] another [illegible] the maize [illegible] Mother. The Christian [illegible] the Aztecs [illegible] Mondamin [illegible] Hiawatha [illegible] the mystery of the [illegible] formed the corn-god Mondamin [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] her disobedient sons."[80]

Faint with famine, Hiawatha
Started from his bed of branches,
From the twilight of his wigwam
Forth into the flush of sunset
Came, and wrestled with Mondamin;
At its touch he felt new courage
Throbbing in his brain and bosom,
Felt new life and hope and vigour
Run through every nerve and fibre.

523 The battle [illegible] Hiawatha new [illegible] Wherever [illegible] Mondamin [illegible] "possessed" by a demon.[82]

524 [illegible] Hiawatha [illegible]

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[80] Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, IV, p. 297.

[81] [illegible] Nietzsche [illegible] par. 459, above.

[82] [illegible] devil. The psychologist can only agree.

524 It was he [illegible] he [illegible] asleep in the mother [illegible], in [illegible] as one [illegible] and had then been [illegible] and [illegible] so that [illegible] overpowered [illegible] shattered [illegible] experience [illegible] and reappear in [illegible] transformed. Consequently he appears at first in hostile form, as an assailant with whom the hero has to wrestle. This is in keeping with the violence of all unconscious dynamism. In this manner the god manifests himself, and in this form he must be overcome. The struggle has its parallel in Jacob's wrestling with the angel at the ford Jabbok. The onslaught of instinct then becomes an experience of divinity, provided that man does not succumb to it and follow it blindly, but defends his humanity against the animal nature of the divine power. It is "a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God," and "whoso is near unto me, is near unto the fire, and whoso is far from me, is far from the kingdom." For "the Lord is a consuming fire." The Messiah is "the Lion of the tribe of Juda."

> Judah is a lion's whelp:
> from the prey, my son, thou art gone up:
> He stooped down, he couched as a lion,
> and as an old lion; who shall rouse him up?[83]

525 The devil, too, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour.[84] These well-known examples suffice to show that this idea is very much at home even in the Judaeo-Christian teachings.

526 In the Mithraic mysteries the [illegible] hero has to fight the bull; in the transitus he carries it into the cave where he kills it. From this death comes all fruitfulness, especially things to eat.[85] (Cf. pl. xxxvi.) The cave is the equivalent of the grave. The same idea is expressed in the Christian mystery, but in a more

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[83] Hebrews 10 : 31; Origen, *In Jeremiam hom.* 3, 3; see James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 35; Hebrews 12 : 29; Revelation 5 : 5; Genesis 49 : 9.

[84] I Peter 5 : 8.

[85] It is an almost invariable feature of the dragon-whale myth that the hero [illegible] in the belly of the monster [illegible] bits of the [illegible] for food [illegible] mother [illegible] In an [illegible] the hero finds a woman in the whale's belly, who [illegible] soul. Cf. Frobenius, *Zeitalter*.

[illegible]

[illegible] The carrying of the tree [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] servants have caught the girls [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] into the mysteries of Isharah [illegible]

[illegible] in the Mass [illegible]

[illegible] Perse[illegible] [illegible] Ovid apostrophizes as follows:

> [illegible] eternal boyhood [illegible] thou stand before us.[49]

[illegible] was carried at the head [illegible] Dionysus-Zagreus [illegible] as Iacchus.

[illegible] Orphic [illegible]

[49] [illegible]

[50] [illegible] Roscher, Lexikon [illegible] "Iakchos."

[illegible] seeking her lost [illegible] been taken [illegible] receives no answer. Just as Demeter first gets news of her daughter from [illegible] Helios, so Hiawatha [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] duced the corn. Odin the runes, etc.

[illegible]

[illegible] morphoses, IX.)

[illegible]

[illegible] fig.)

cave [illegible] brings back [illegible] sun-lover.[67] The cave where Christ was born in Bethlehem ("The House of Bread") is said to have been an Attis spelaeum.

529 A further piece of Eleusinian symbolism relating to the celebration of the hieros gamos is the mystic cista (basket) which, according to the testimony of Clement of Alexandria, contained pastries, sacrificial offerings, and fruit. But the synthema (confession) of the neophyte as handed down by Clement points to other things besides:

> I have fasted, I have drunk the mixed drink, I have taken from the cista and after working with it I have laid it back in the basket, and from the basket into the cista.[68]

530 The question of what was in the cista has been elucidated by Dieterich.[69] The "working" he interprets as some phallic activity which the neophyte had to perform. And there are in fact representations of the mystic basket with a phallus lying in it, surrounded by fruits.[70] On the so-called Lovatelli funeral urn, carved with scenes supposedly taken from the Eleusinian mysteries, there is a picture of a neophyte fondling the snake entwined around Demeter. The fondling or kissing of the fearsome animal signifies the ceremonial conquest of incest. According to Clement of Alexandria, there was a snake in the mystical basket.[71] This snake symbolizes the danger that comes from the regressive movement of libido. Rohde[72] mentions that at the Arrhetophoria festival pastries shaped like phalli and serpents were thrown into a pit in the Thesmophorion, to invoke the blessing of children and good harvests.[73] The snake

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[67] [illegible] Cf. Wright, [illegible] I, p. 469. Here cited from Cumont, *Textes*, I, p. 56.

[68] *Protrepticus* [illegible] Ἐνήστευσα, [illegible] Instead of [illegible] I have taken Dieterich (*Mithrasliturgie*, [illegible]) [illegible] reading.

[69] Dieterich, pp. 123ff.

[70] As, for instance, on a Campana bas-relief in [illegible] also reproduced also in this work [illegible] a basket filled with [illegible] p. [illegible]

[71] [illegible] was [illegible] breasts of the [illegible] and [illegible] was [illegible] Cf. the mega [illegible]

also played a large part in the initiation ceremonies and in the strange [illegible] Clement says that the symbol of the Sabazius mysteries was "the god through the lap," and this was a snake which is dragged through the bosom of the initiates.[74] From Arnobius we learn: "A golden snake is let down into the lap of the initiated and is drawn out again from below."[75] In the Orphic hymn [illegible] is invoked by the name of [illegible], which suggests that the god entered his devotees as it were through the female genitals.[76] At the Eleusinian mysteries the hierophant proclaimed in a loud voice: "The great goddess has borne a divine boy, Brimo has borne Brimos."[77] This Christmas message, "Unto us a son is born," is further elucidated by the tradition[78] that the Athenians silently [illegible] the great, the wonderful [illegible] mystery, a mown ear of corn."[79] (Cf. pl. LVb.)

531 The parallel to the motif of dying and rising again is the motif of losing and finding. The motif appears [illegible] exactly the same place, in connection with [illegible] spring festivities where the [illegible] of the god was hidden and found again. There is an uncanonical tradition that Moses left his father's house at the age of twelve [illegible] to instruct men

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ideas [illegible] a mass of exclusively [illegible] "The Psychology of Dementia Praecox," par. 301.

[74] [Protrepticus, II, 16 [illegible] ὁ διὰ κόλπου θεός· δράκων δέ ἐστι καὶ οὗτος διελκόμενος τοῦ κόλπου τῶν τελουμένων.]

[75] *Adversus gentes*, V, 21 [illegible] Bryce and Campbell trans., p. 244.]

[76] Cf. [illegible] *Mithraeum* [illegible]

[77] [illegible] This [illegible] goddess [illegible] *Lexikon*, IV, s.v. "Sabazios," sec. 5.

[78] De Jong, *Das antike Mysterienwesen*, p. 22.

[79] The [illegible] god of antiquity was [illegible] whose death and resurrection were celebrated [illegible] He was [illegible] the son and fruit of the earth's womb, as Robertson (*Christianity and Mythology*, p. 318) has already pointed out.

kind. Similarly Christ was lost by his parents, and they found him teaching wisdom in the temple; just as in the Mohammedan legend Moses and Joshua lose the fish and find in its stead Khidr, the teacher of wisdom. So, too, does the corn-god, lost and believed dead, suddenly spring from the earth in the splendour of youth.

532 We can see from these accounts how comforting the Eleusinian mysteries were for the celebrants' hopes of a world to come. One epitaph says:

> Truly the blessed gods have proclaimed a most beautiful secret:
> Death comes not as a curse, but as a blessing to men.

533 The Homeric hymn to Demeter says the same thing of the mysteries:

> Happy is he among men upon earth who has seen these mysteries; but he who is uninitiate and has no part in them, never has lot of like good things once he is dead, down in the darkness and gloom.[59]

534 And we find the same symbolism in a nineteenth-century hymn by Samuel Preiswerk:[60]

The world is yours, Lord Jesus,
The world, on which we stand
Because it is thy world
It cannot perish.
Only the wheat, before it comes
Up to the light in its fertility,
Must die in the womb of the earth
First freed from its own nature.
Thou goest, O Lord, our chief,
To heaven through thy sorrows,
And guide him who believes
In thee on the same path.
Then take us all equally
To share in thy sorrows and kingdom,
Guide us through thy gate of death
Bring thy world into the Light.[61]

535 Firmicus says of the Attis mystery:

> On a certain night the image is laid on its back on a litter, and the people bewail it with rhythmical lamentations. And when they have had

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[59] Trans. by Evelyn-White, p. 323.
[60] Jung's maternal grandfather.
[61] [As trans. in the Hinkle edn. (1916), p. 378.]

[illegible]

536 These parallels show how little there is of the human and personal [illegible] universal [illegible]

[illegible]

85 Dieterich, p. 67. 86 Ibid.

example being the Holy Sepulchre of San Stefano in Bologna. The church itself, an extremely ancient polygonal building, was built from the remains of a temple to Isis. Inside, there is an artificial spelaeum known as the Holy Sepulchre, into which one creeps through a very low door. Worshippers in such a spelaeum could hardly help identifying themselves with him who died and rose again, i.e., with the reborn. Similar initiations seem to have been performed in the [illegible] caves at Hal Saflieni in Malta. An Etruscan ossuary in the archaeological museum at Florence serves at the same time as a statue of Matuta (pl. xxiv), the goddess of death; the clay figure of the goddess is hollowed out inside as a receptacle for ashes. It is clear from the accompanying illustration that Matuta is the mother. Her chair is adorned with sphinxes, a fitting symbol of the mother of death. (Cf. the Oedipus myth.)

538 Of the further deeds of Hiawatha only a few can interest us here. The battle with Mishe-Nahma, the fish-king, in the eighth canto deserves mention as a typical battle of the sun-hero. Mishe-Nahma is a monster fish who lives at the bottom of the waters. Challenged to fight by Hiawatha, he swallows the hero together with his boat

In his wrath he darted upward
Flashing leaped into the sunshine,
Opened his great jaws, and swallowed
Both canoe and Hiawatha.

Down into that darksome cavern
Plunged the headlong Hiawatha,
As a log on some black river
Shoots and plunges down the rapids,
Found himself in utter darkness,
Groped about in helpless wonder,
Till he felt a great heart beating,
Throbbing in that utter darkness.

And he smote it in his anger,
With his fist, the heart of Nahma,
Felt the mighty king of fishes
Shudder through each nerve and fibre
Crosswise then did Hiawatha
Drag his birch-canoe for safety,

Lest from out the jaws of Nahma,
In the turmoil and confusion,
[illegible]

538 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

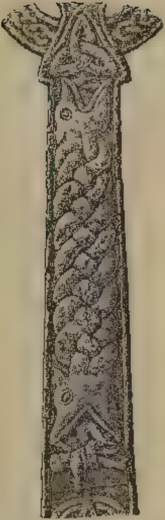
[illegible] sciousness. (Cf. fig. 93.)

[illegible]

[illegible] diagrams on p. 310. 46 [Cf. par. 455, above.]

[illegible] old woman as she sleeps.

Fig. 33. Vidarr's fight with the Fenris-Wolf
Relief from a cross, Churchyard of Gosforth, Cumberland



hazardous adventures in which the hero may be victorious, but may also meet with his death. Man with his consciousness is always a long way behind the goals of the unconscious, unless his libido calls him forth to new dangers he sinks into slothful inactivity, or in the prime of life he is overcome with longing for the past and is paralysed. But if he rouses himself and follows the dangerous stage [illegible] apparently impossible [illegible] being then [illegible] must [illegible] to become a hero. The [illegible] challenges. The hero [illegible] his deeds and [illegible] serpent [illegible] Nokomis [illegible] calls [illegible] with her hand to the West, where the sun sets in purple splendour, and says to him:

Yonder dwells the great Pearl-Feather,
Megissogwon, the Magician,
Manito of Wealth and Wampum,
Guarded by his fiery serpents,
Guarded by the black pitch-water.
You can see his fiery serpents . . .
Coiling, playing in the water.

54 The danger that dwells in the West is death, [illegible] none, not even [illegible] escape [illegible] we are told, had killed the father of Nokomis. Now she sends her son to avenge her father. From the symbols assigned to the magician we can see what he stands for. Snake and water are attributes of the mother. The snake coils protectingly round the mother-rock, lives in the cave, coils itself round the mother-tree, and guards the precious hoard, the secret treasure. The black Stygian water, like the [illegible] of Dhulqarnein, is the place where the sun sinks down [illegible] the maternal sea of death and night. On his journey to the [illegible] Hiawatha takes with him the magic oil of Mishe-Nahma, [illegible] his canoe through the waters of death. Hence [illegible] immortal [illegible] as [illegible] dragon [illegible] Hiawatha makes the night-sea journey over the Stygian waters:

All night long he sailed upon it,
Sailed upon that sluggish water
Covered with its mould of ages,
Black with rotting water-rushes,
Rank with flags and leaves of lilies,
Stagnant, lifeless, dreary, dismal
Lighted by the shimmering moonlight,
And by will-o'-the-wisps illumined,
Fires by ghosts of dead men kindled
In their weary night encampments.

542 [illegible] clearly shows that [illegible] are the waters of death. The [illegible] and [illegible] deva,88 says: "Whoever [illegible] bast [illegible] threads or [illegible] will certainly die."

543 There is [illegible] refers to the dream of the [illegible] this case [illegible] the mother herself [illegible] Hiawatha's task [illegible] by Nokomis, the [illegible] The latter is [illegible] the former would correspond to [illegible]

544 Arrived in the Western Land, [illegible] challenges the magician [illegible] and a terrible struggle begins. Hiawatha is powerless [illegible] Megissogwon [illegible]. In the evening Hiawatha, wounded [illegible] for a short rest:

> Paused to rest beneath a pine-tree,
> From whose branches [illegible] the mosses,
> And whose trunk was coated over
> With the Dead Man's Moccasin leather,
> With the fungus white and yellow.

545 This sheltering tree is [illegible] as [illegible] with fungus. Tree [illegible] is an important factor wherever tree worship [illegible] India, where every village has its sacred tree [illegible] and treated exactly like a human being. [illegible] are anointed with sweet-smelling waters, sprinkled with powder, adorned with garlands and draperies. And [illegible] ears as an apotropaic charm against death, so they [illegible] the sacred tree [illegible] the [illegible] than the peepal or aswatha [illegible] is known to them as Vriksha Raja [illegible] Vishnu, and Maheswar live in it [illegible] the Triad. Almost every Indian village has an aswatha.89

546 This [illegible] tree [illegible] character

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88 Negelein, ed. [illegible], p. 256.

89 Cited from Negelein, p. 256.

used as a [illegible] the three gods. So when Hiawatha [illegible] rest [illegible][90] he is facing a dangerous [illegible] whose [illegible] the whole [illegible] needs the help of a bird, of one of [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] mother.

Suddenly from the boughs above him
Sang the Mama, the woodpecker.
Aim your arrows, Hiawatha,
At the head of Megissogwon,
Strike the tuft of hair upon it,
At their roots the long black tresses;
There alone can he be wounded!

547 So Mama, [illegible] one must own, hastens to [illegible]. The woodpecker also happened to be the nurse of Romulus and Remus [illegible] food into their [illegible] beak.[91] The woodpecker owes his special significance to the fact that he hammers [illegible] in trees. Hence we can understand why he was honoured in Roman legend as an ancient king, [illegible] who was the possessor or ruler of the [illegible] the *pater familias*. [illegible] *Picus Martius*, the woodpecker. She killed and magically transformed [illegible]. Picus was also regarded as a wood demon and [illegible],[92] and a soothsayer.[93] He was sometimes equated with Pilumnus, the inseparable companion of Picumnus, [illegible] were called *infantium dii*, the gods of small children. Pilumnus especially was said to protect new-born infants from the wicked attacks of the woodland god Silvanus. This helpful little bird now advises our hero to aim under the

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[90] It is the [illegible] tree that speaks [illegible] word "Minnewawa."

[91] [illegible] appears in the tree that [illegible] grown out of her mother's grave.

[92] Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. "Picus," III, 2, 2498, 30.

[93] [illegible] Picus was [illegible], a name which is obviously [illegible]. He is also said to have [illegible] manner as we saw [illegible] an egg, his mother, from which he hatched [illegible].

magic [illegible] at the [illegible] terrible spirit [illegible] on the crown of the head at the point where [illegible] birth takes place, which even today figures [illegible] the birth [illegible] There Hiawatha shoots his three arrows[48] and so makes an end of Megissogwon. He then steals the magic belt of wampum which makes him invisible; the dead magician he leaves lying in the water:

On the shore he left the body,
Half on land and half in water,
In the sand his feet were buried,
And his face was in the water.

548 The situation is therefore the same as with the fish-king, for the magician is the personification of the water [illegible] star [illegible] mother. This great deed of Hiawatha's, when he conquers the Terrible Mother and death-bringing [illegible] the negative father, is followed by his marriage with Minnehaha [illegible] turn to his human side after he has fulfilled his [illegible] the transformation of the daemon from [illegible] of nature into a power that [illegible] to command [illegible] deliverance of [illegible] from the deadly [illegible] the [illegible] form of the negative [illegible]. The first task signifies the creation of will power, the second the free use of it.

549 We might mention, from among [illegible] which the poet has [illegible] back into a youth by crawling through a hollow oak tree.[49] The fourteenth canto describes how Hiawatha invents writing. I must confine myself here to the description of two [illegible]:

Gitche Manito the Mighty,
He, the Master of Life, was painted

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[48] Spielrein's patient received [illegible] from God through her head, breast, and eye. "Then came a resurrection [illegible]." In the Jewish legend of [illegible] the demon [illegible] old woman [illegible] legend of the Kalmucks [illegible] eye [illegible] grows [illegible]

[49] This is synonymous with entering [illegible] the [illegible] immersed [illegible] oneself crawling through something narrow [illegible] the ears [illegible] swallowing snakes, etc.

As an egg with points projecting
To the four winds of the heavens.
Everywhere is the Great Spirit,
Was the meaning of this symbol.

550 The world is enclosed in the egg (cf. fig. 36) which surrounds it on all sides; it is the cosmic birth-giver, a symbol used by Plato and by the Vedas. This mother is omnipresent, like the air. But air is spirit, so the world-mother is a spirit, the anima mundi. The [illegible] is at the same time a quaternary symbol, [illegible] points to the self.[96] It therefore depicts [illegible] circumference [illegible] space and the innermost centre [illegible] and the [illegible], corresponding to the Indian idea of the atman who encompasses the whole world and dwells, no bigger than a thumb, in the heart of man. The second hieroglyph is as follows:

Mitche Manito the Mighty,
He the dreadful Spirit of Evil,
As a serpent was depicted,
As Kenabeek, the great serpent.

551 The spirit of evil is fear, negation, the adversary who opposes life in its struggle for eternal duration and thwarts every great deed, who infuses into the body the poison of weakness and age through the treacherous bite of the serpent; he is the spirit of regression, who threatens us with bondage to the mother and with dissolution and extinction in the unconscious. [illegible] For the hero, fear is a challenge and a task, because only boldness can deliver from fear. And if the risk is not taken, the meaning of life is somehow violated, and the whole future is condemned to hopeless staleness, to a drab grey lit only by will-o'-the-wisps.

552 The fifteenth canto describes how Chibiabos, Hiawatha's best friend, the amiable player and singer, the embodiment of [illegible], was enticed [illegible] by evil spirits, fell through the ice and was drowned. Hiawatha mourned for him so long that with the help of the magicians he succeeded in calling him back again. But the revived friend is only a spirit, and is made master of the Land of Spirits. More battles follow, and then comes the loss of a second friend, Kwasind, the embodiment of

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[96] Cf. "Psychology and Religion," par. 97.

physical strength. These events are ominous of the end, like the death of Enkidu in the Gilgamesh Epic. In the twentieth canto comes the famine, followed by the death of Minnehaha, which is foretold by two taciturn guests from the Land of the Dead; and in the twenty-second canto Hiawatha prepares for the final journey to the Western Land:

I am going, O Nokomis,
On a long and distant journey,
To the portals of the Sunset,
To the regions of the home-wind,
Of the Northwest Wind, Keewaydin.

One long track and trail of splendour,
Down whose stream, as down a river,
Westward, westward, Hiawatha
Sailed into the fiery sunset,
Sailed into the purple vapours,
Sailed into the dusk of evening.

Thus departed Hiawatha,
Hiawatha the Beloved,
In the glory of the sunset,
In the purple mists of evening,
To the regions of the home-wind,
Of the Northwest Wind, Keewaydin,
To the Islands of the Blessed,
To the kingdom of Ponemah,
To the land of the Hereafter!

553 The sun, rising triumphant, tears himself from the enveloping womb of the sea, and leaving behind him the noonday zenith and all its glorious works, sinks down again into the maternal depths, into all-enfolding and all-regenerating night. (Cf. figs. 9, 24.) This image is undoubtedly a primordial one, and there was profound justification for its becoming a symbolical expression of human fate: in the morning of life the son tears himself loose from the mother, from the domestic hearth, to rise through battle to his destined heights. Always he imagines his worst enemy in front of him, yet he carries the enemy within himself—a deadly longing for the abyss, a longing to drown in his own source, to be sucked down to the realm of the Mothers. His life is a constant struggle against extinction, a violent yet fleeting deliverance from ever-lurking night. This

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

and her hero, who makes his entry in the form of Wagner's Siegfried. Chiwantopel cries out in his monologue: "Alas! Not one who understands my soul, not one who resembles me or has a soul that is sister to mine." Miss Miller declares that the sentiments expressed in this passage have the greatest analogy with Siegfried's feelings for Brünnhilde. This analogy prompts us to cast a glance at the relations between Siegfried and Brünnhilde in Wagner. It is well known that Brünnhilde, the Valkyrie, looked with favour on the brother-sister incest that gave birth to Siegfried. But whereas Sieglinde is the human mother, Brünnhilde acts the part of the symbolic mother, the "spirit-mother" (mother-imago), but she is no persecutor like Hera with the infant Heracles, but is a helper. The sin of incest, of which she makes herself guilty by her complicity, is the reason for her banishment by Wotan. Siegfried's birth from the sister-wife characterizes him as a Horus, the reborn sun, a reincarnation of the aging sun-god. The birth of the young sun, the god-man, stems from human partners, but they are really only vehicles for cosmic symbols. The spirit-mother therefore extends her protection; she sends Sieglinde, pregnant with the child in her womb,[97] on the night sea journey to the East:

> Away then, hasten
> Turn to the East . . .
> Woman, you cherish
> The noblest hero in the world
> In your sheltering womb![98]

556 The motif of dismemberment also occurs in the broken sword of Siegmund, which was kept for Sieglinde. This is put together again from the broken pieces by the skill of Mime. Just as a blacksmith welds the broken pieces together, so the dismembered corpse is reconstructed. This comparison also occurs in Plato's *Timaeus*: the world's parts are joined together with pegs. In the Rig-Veda, the world's creator, Brahmanaspati, is a blacksmith:

> This world Brahmanaspati
> Welded together like a blacksmith.[99]

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[97] Cf. Mary's flight into Egypt, the persecution by Herod, etc.

[98] *Die Walküre*, ll. 1782–89, 1793–94.

[99] Rig-Veda X, 72, trans. from the German of Deussen, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, I, p. 145.

557 The sword denotes solar power, therefore a sword goes out from the mouth of Christ in the Apocalypse (pl. XVb), namely the procreative fire, speech, or the spermatic Word. In the Rig Veda, Brahmanaspati is the prayer-word, which is accorded a pre-worldly, creative significance:

> And this prayer of the singer, continually expanding,
> Became a cow that was there before the beginning of the world.
> The gods are foster-children of the same brood,
> Dwelling together in the womb of this god.[101]

558 The Logos becomes a cow, i.e., a mother who bears the gods in her womb. The transformation of the Logos into a mother is not really surprising since in the *Acts of Thomas* the Holy Ghost is addressed as the mother; and it is always the mother-imago which proves to be the hero's greatest danger, but is for that very reason the prime source of his deeds and of his ascent. His ascent signifies a renewal of the light, and hence a rebirth of consciousness from the darkness, i.e., from regression to the unconscious.

559 The persecution motif is not connected here with the mother, but with Wotan, as in the Linus legend where the father is the vengeful pursuer. Brünnhilde stands in a peculiar relation to her father Wotan. She says to him:

> You speak to the will of Wotan
> When you tell me what you wish.
> Who am I
> If I am not your will?
>
> WOTAN: I take counsel with myself alone
> When I speak with you . . .[102]

560 Brünnhilde is a sort of split-off from Wotan, part of his personality, just as Pallas Athene was an emanation of Zeus. She is, as it were, Wotan's emissary or agent, and therefore corresponds to the angel of Yahweh, to the eye of Ahura, or Vohu Manah, God's good thought, in Persian legend, or to the Babylonian Nabu, the word of fate, or to Hermes, the messenger of the gods, whom the philosophers equated with Reason and Logos. In Assyria the role of Logos falls to the fire god, Gibil

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[101] Rig-Veda, X, 31, trans. from ibid., p. 140.

[102] *Die Walküre*, II, 900–903, 907–908.

That Wagner should have put the designs of so martial a god as Wotan into the hands of a feminine agent is somewhat remarkable, despite the Greek precedent of Pallas Athene. A very similar figure is the Kore in the *Acts of Thomas*, of whom Thomas sings:

Maiden, daughter of the light,
In whom there abides the majestic splendour of kings . . .
On the crown of her head the king is seated,
Feeding with his own ambrosia those seated beside him.
Truth rests upon her head,
Her tongue is like the curtain of a door
Which is drawn back for them who go in.
Her neck rises up like a stairway
And the first builder of the world created it.
Her two hands signify and proclaim the dance of the blessed ages,
And her fingers the gates of the city . . .[103]

561 This maiden, according to the *Acts of Thomas*, is the Mother of Wisdom. Conversely, the Holy Ghost is worshipped in feminine form in one of the Eucharistic prayers:

Come, thou that knowest the secrets of the chosen,
Come, thou that partakest in all the combats of the noble combatant . . .
Come, peace,
That revealest the great things of all greatness,
Come, thou that layest bare the hidden things,
And makest manifest things not to be spoken,
Come, holy dove,
Which hast brought forth the twin nestlings,
Come, secret mother . . .[104]

562 This Eucharistic feast is celebrated at a characteristic moment, immediately after Thomas had delivered a "beautiful woman" from an "unchaste demon" who had been plaguing her for years. This is probably no accident, because the therapeutic meaning of the hymn is the transformation of a sexual obsession into a recognition of the positive qualities of the feminine spirit.

563 In line with the *Acts of Thomas* is the Ophite view that the Holy Ghost is the "first word," the "Mother of All Living," and the Valentinian idea that the Third Person is the "Word of

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[103] Trans. by Walker, p. 392, modified.

[104] Ibid., p. 416, modified.

the Mother from Above. It is certainly remarkable that Wagner's Brünhilde is one of those numerous anima figures who are attributed to masculine deities and who, without exception, represent a dissociation of the masculine psyche—a "splinter" with a tendency to lead an obsessive existence of its own. This tendency to autonomy causes the anima to anticipate the thoughts and desires of the masculine consciousness, with the result that the latter [illegible] unlooked-for situations [illegible] Sieglinde [illegible] situation of Wotan and [illegible] of his own intriguing [illegible].

561 Something of the sort must have been in Wagner's mind when he wrote Wotan's lament for Brünhilde:

None knew as she my innermost thoughts
None knew as she the source of my will,
She herself was
The creating womb of my wish,
And now she has broken
That happy bond.[105]

562 Brünhilde's sin was her support of Siegmund, but behind that lies the incest which was projected on to the brother-sister pair Siegmund and Sieglinde. Her symbolical meaning, however, is that Wotan, the father, has entered into his own daughter in order to rejuvenate himself. This archaic idea is expressed here in a rather veiled way. In the legend of the [illegible] is expressed openly by the [illegible] father of the [illegible]. Wotan rightly disagrees with Brünhilde, for she has taken over the role of Isis and, by giving birth to a son, has deprived the old man of his power. Wotan beats off the first herald of death, Siegmund, and smashes his sword, but Siegmund rises again in the grandson Siegfried. And the instrument of fate is always the woman who knows and reveals his secret thoughts; hence the impotent rage of Wotan, who cannot bring himself to recognize his own contradictory nature.

563 At Siegfried's birth Sieglinde dies, as is proper. The foster-parent[106] who brings him up is not a woman but a chthonic god, Mime, a crippled dwarf, who belongs to a race that has

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[105] *Die Walküre*, II. 1863–74.

[106] German [illegible] the legend that Siegfried was suckled by a doe.

abjured love. Mime,[107] S[illegible] an underworld [illegible] crippled [illegible] a sorry reflection in Ha[illegible] brings up the [illegible] who is to avenge the death of his father.

567 Meanwhile Brünhilde lies in [illegible][108] on the mountain where Wotan has put her to sleep with the magic thorn (Edda), surrounded by a curtain of fire that keeps off all who approach her. [illegible] ing of the hero for the [illegible].[109] Mime, however, becomes Siegfried's enemy and wants his death through Fafner. Here Mime's dynamic nature is revealed: he is a masculine representative of the Terrible Mother who lays the poisonous worm in her son's path.[110] Siegfried's longing for the mother

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[107] Cf. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, I, pp. [illegible]ff. Mime or Mimir is a gigantic being of great wisdom, [illegible] with whom the Norse gods associate. Later fables make him a forest spirit and a skilful smith. Like Wotan, who goes to the wise woman for advice, Odin goes to the fountain of Mimir, in which wisdom and cunning lie hidden. There he asks for a drink, [illegible] The fountain of Mimir [illegible] Mimir and his fountain are [illegible] subterranean [illegible] and art. Just as Re [illegible] Ego [illegible] mother goddess [illegible] play [illegible] called [illegible] Hauptmann [illegible] like Re. These are all mythological animus figures. Concerning the animus, see "The Relations between the Ego and the Unconscious," pars. 328ff.

[108] The enchanted sleep also [illegible] of the *heroes* genius.

[109] Cf. Siegfried's words (ll. 2691–90):

Through burning fire
I sped toward you;
Neither shield nor buckler
Guarded my body:
The flames have broken
Through to my breast,
My blood races
Hot through my veins;
A raging fire
Is kindled within me

[110] The dragon in the cave is one of the [illegible] Mother. In German legend the maiden in distress often appears as a snake or dragon that has to be kissed; then it changes into a beautiful woman. Certain wise women are supposed to have a fish's or a serpent's tail. A king's daughter was imprisoned in the Golden Mount as a

imago drives him away from Mime:

Away with the imp,
Let me see him no more.
If only I knew
What my mother was like!
But that [illegible] never tell me!
Her eyes' tender light
Surely did shine
Like the soft eyes of the doe![111]

568 Siegfried wants to part from the dwarf, who was his mother in the past, and [illegible] he reaches [illegible] the [illegible] mother. For him, too, nature acquires a hidden maternal significance ("doe"), he too discovers in the sounds of nature a hint of his mother's voice and his mother's speech:

Sweet little bird,
Never yet have I heard you,
Do you live here in the forest?
Could I but understand your sweet warbling!
Surely it would tell me
Something of my dear mother?[112]

569 But his conversation with the bird lures Fafner out of the cave. Siegfried's longing for the mother-imago has [illegible] exposed him to the danger of looking back to his [illegible] and to the human mother, who immediately changes into the death-dealing dragon. He has conjured up the evil aspect of the unconscious, its devouring nature, personified (pls. xxxvib, xxxvii) by the cave-dwelling terror of the woods. Fafner is the guardian of the treasure; in his cave lies the hoard, the source of life and power. The mother apparently possesses the libido of the son (the treasure she guards so jealously), and this is in fact true so long as the son remains unconscious of himself.[113] In psychological terms this means that the "treasure hard to attain" lies hidden in the mother-imago, i.e., in the unconscious. This symbol points to one of the secrets which is expressed [illegible] less symbolical ways in mythology. When [illegible]

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snake. In Oselberg, near Dinkelsbühl, there is a snake with a woman's head and a bunch of keys round the neck. (Grimm, II, p. 969.)

[111] *Siegfried*, II, 1460–70 [illegible]

[112] This problem is dealt with in Barlach's *Der tote Tag*, which gives a brilliant description of the mother complex.

[illegible] dream-series [illegible] will be found on examination to be [illegible] Here I must remind the reader [illegible] at some [illegible] Father are [illegible] According to the [illegible] He wants [illegible] power [illegible] [illegible] this [illegible]

570 [illegible] meaning [illegible] from the [illegible] [illegible] In this connection we [illegible] mention the report of Pausanias:

There was in Athens [illegible] Olympia. Here [illegible] of [illegible] that the water [illegible] wheatmeal kneaded with honey.[19]

571 We have already seen [illegible] the form of snakes [illegible] at the [illegible] We [illegible]

[illegible] Jung and [illegible] Psychology and Alchemy, Aion.

[illegible] Cf. Schlauch, trans., *The Saga of the Volsungs*, p. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

found that in [illegible] the earth [illegible] ceremonies. It is significant that the [illegible] flowed off into the [illegible] mother again, for it was from the mother that [illegible] in the first place. The [illegible] as the [illegible] living and all procreating [illegible] the origin of all things. [illegible] cases [illegible] we may quote one from [illegible]. In Rome money offerings were thrown every year into the [illegible] had been closed through the [illegible] of Curtius. He was the hero who went down into the underworld in order to conquer the danger that threatened the Roman state after the opening of the chasm. [illegible] those who [illegible] threw their money offerings into the sacred well. Pausanias says:

> If anyone is cured of a disease by means of an oracle, it is [illegible] to throw [illegible] into the well, for [illegible] rose up as a god.[23]

572 Presumably this [illegible] well was also the scene of his katabasis. There were any number of entrances to Hades in antiquity. Thus near Eleusis there was a gorge through which [illegible] went up and down [illegible] Kore. There were crevices in the rocks where the souls could ascend to the upper world. Behind the temple of Chthonian Hermione lay a sacred [illegible] of Pluto, with a chasm through which Heracles brought up Cerberus. There was also an Acherusian lake. In [illegible] was the entrance [illegible]. The chasm on the Areopagus in Athens was believed to be the seat of the [illegible]. Similar ideas are suggested by an old Greek custom: [illegible] were sent [illegible]. If they were bitten, it was a sign that they were not chaste. We find the same motif in the Roman legend of St. Sylvester, dating from the end of the 5th century.

[illegible] where [illegible] and wanton girls were [illegible]

[illegible] [22] Rohde, *Psyche*, p. [illegible]

[24] [illegible] [25] Maehly, *Die Schlange im Mythus und Kultus*, p. [illegible]

down the 365 steps to this dragon, as though into the underworld, bearing with them sacrifices and purificatory offerings from which the great dragon could be given his food. Then the dragon would suddenly rise up and though he did not come out, he poisoned the air with his breath, so that men died and much sorrow was occasioned by the deaths of children. When therefore St. Sylvester was fighting the pagans in defence of truth, the pagans challenged him, saying: "Sylvester, go down to the dragon, and in the name of thy God make him desist, if only for a year, from this slaughter of human lives."[128]

573 St. Peter then appeared to Sylvester in a dream and counselled him to close this door to the underworld with a chain, as in the vision of the Apocalypse:

> And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand.
>
> And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years, and cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him.[129]

574 Writing at the beginning of the fifth century, the anonymous author of a treatise entitled "De promissionibus" mentions a very similar legend:

> Near the city of Rome there was a certain cavern in which could be seen a frightful and terrible dragon of marvellous size, a mechanical contrivance, that brandished a sword in its mouth,[130] and had shin-

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[128] "Erat draco immanissimus in monte Tarpeio, in quo est Capitolium collocatum. Ad hunc draconem per CCCLXV gradus, quasi ad infernum, magi cum virginibus sacrilegis descendebant semel in mense cum sacrificiis et lustris, ex quibus esca poterat tanto draconi inferri. Hic draco subito ex improviso ascendebat et licet non egrederetur, vicinos tamen aeres flatu suo vitiabat. Ex quo mortalitas hominum et maxima luctus de morte veniebat infantum. Sanctus itaque Silvester cum haberet cum paganis pro defensione veritatis conflictum, ad hoc venerunt dicentes ei pagani: 'Silvester, descende ad draconem et fac eum in nomine dei tui vel uno anno ab interfectione generis humani cessare.'" Duchesne, *Lib. Pontificalis*, I, p. cx; cited in Cumont, *Textes*, I, p. 351.

[129] Revelation 20 : 1–3.

[130] Cf. Revelation 19 : 15. We find the same motif of the armed dragon who pierces the women with a sword in a myth of the Oyster Bay tribe of Tasmania: "A devil-fish lay hidden in the hollow of a rock, a huge devil-fish. The devil-fish was enormous, and he had a very long spear. From his hole he espied the women. When he saw them dive into the water, he pierced them with his spear, he killed them, he carried them away. For a time they were no longer to be seen. The monster was then slain by the two heroes. They made a fire and brought the women back to life again." Frobenius, *Zeitalter*, p. 77.

ing red jewels for eyes.[138] Every year girls were consecrated to it and adorned with flowers, and then given to the dragon [illegible]. For as they descended with their gifts they would go down the steps, to which this devilish machine in [illegible] a dragon was attached, and were instantly pierced through with the swords that sprang out, so that innocent blood was shed. A certain monk, who was known to Stilicho the patrician on account of his good works, overcame the dragon in the following manner: he carefully examined each step with a rod and [illegible] found [illegible] fraud. Then stepping over it he went down [illegible] cut it to pieces, thus showing that they are not gods which are made by the hands of men.[139]

575 The hero has much in common with the dragon he fights, or rather he takes over some of its qualities: [illegible] snake's eyes, etc. Man and dragon [illegible] be a pair of brothers, even as Christ [illegible] with the serpent which [illegible] put an end to the plague of [illegible] serpents in the wilderness (John [illegible] and Numbers 21 [illegible]). As a serpent he is to be "lifted up" on the cross; that is to say, as a man with merely human thoughts and desires, who is ever straining back to childhood and the mother, he must die on the cross with his gaze fixed on the past. This formulation is not to be taken as an [illegible] being more than a psychological interpretation of [illegible] living symbol [illegible] because of its [illegible] effectiveness for centuries must somehow be an idea that [illegible] the nature of the human soul. If [illegible] it would long since have perished. Here as everywhere else in this book, when discussing the psychology of religious figures, I am not concerned with the [illegible] of [illegible]. I would [illegible] to state this categorically, for I am aware that my [illegible]

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[138] The eyes of the Son of Man are like a flame of fire. Rev. [illegible]

[139] Apud urbem Romam specus quidam [illegible] mechanica arte formatus [illegible] [illegible] Textes, I, p. 351

[illegible]

576 Christ as a hero and god-man signifies psychologically the self; that is, he represents the projection of this most important and most central of archetypes. [illegible] world, i.e., of the collective unconscious.[180] [illegible] In the Christ-figure the opposites which are united in the archetype are polarized into the "light" son of God on the one hand and the devil on the other. [illegible] of Satan and Yahweh. Christ and the [illegible] so far as their [illegible] are concerned.[181] [illegible] of the Antichrist is an essential part of the hero's life and is therefore immortal. Nowhere in the later myths are the paired opposites so [illegible] Christ and Antichrist. [illegible] Merezhkovsky's [illegible] account of this problem in his novel *Leonardo da Vinci*.) It is a convenient rationalistic evasion to say that the dragon is [illegible] of this [illegible] for apologetic purposes. [illegible] they say [illegible]

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[180] Cf. "The Psychology of Eastern Meditation," pars. 913ff.

[181] Cf. Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*.

[182] [illegible]

[illegible] *He is sitting in a dark room,* [illegible] *he can see the sky. The* [illegible] good father. Sun [illegible] possess [illegible] power [illegible] the weaker [illegible] under the power of the unconscious.

577 [illegible] steps refers to the course of the sun, and [illegible] at least [illegible] in Mithraism [illegible] who says that [illegible] Hecate [illegible] in Samothrace. The [illegible] Rome towards the end of the [illegible] refer [illegible] her [illegible] as [illegible] shown [illegible] a [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

188 An attribute of the Terrible Mother Ishtar [illegible] Spencer [illegible], in Pritchard, p. 84.

As the "spirit-mother" she sends madness, the moonsickness. This idea is perfectly sensible, because most forms of lunacy consist of affections which amount to an invasion by the unconscious and an inundation of the conscious mind. In the Hecate mysteries a wand, named the λευκόφυλλος ("white-leaved"), was broken. This wand protected the purity of virgins and caused madness in anyone who touched it. We recognize here the motif of the sacred tree, the mother who might not be touched. Only a madman would attempt to do so. As an incubus or vampire she appears in the form of Empusa, or as a man-eating Lamia (cf. pl. xxxvib); or again in that more beautiful guise, the "Bride of

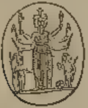

Fig. 34. Hecate of Samothrace
Gnostic gem

Corinth." She is the mother of all witchcraft and witches, the patron goddess of Medea, because the power of the "Terrible Mother" is irresistible, coming as it does from the unconscious. She plays an important part in Greek syncretism, being confused with Artemis, who was also called ἑκάτη, "the far-shooting," or "she who hits at will," a name that once more reveals her superordinate power. Artemis is the huntress with hounds, and Hecate too is the wild huntress prowling at night. She has her name in common with Apollo (ἕκατος, ἑκάεργος). The identification of Hecate with Brimo as the underworldly mother is understandable, also her identification with Persephone and Rhea, the primordial All-Mother. Her maternal significance also explains her confusion with Eileithyia, the goddess of childbirth. Hecate is also a "nursing-goddess" (κουροτρόφος), the multiplier of cattle, and goddess of marriage. In Orphic cosmogony she occupies the centre of the world as Aphrodite and Gaia, if not as the world-soul itself. On a carved gem she is shown with a cross on her head (fig. 34). The pillory where criminals were scourged was also known as the ἑκάτη, and to her, as to the Roman Trivia, were dedicated junctions of three roads, forked roads, and cross-roads. Where the roads branch off or meet, dog sacrifices were offered to her, and there too were thrown the bodies of the executed: the sacrifice occurs at the point of union. Where the roads cross and enter into one another, thereby symbolizing the union of opposites, there is the "mother," the object and epitome of all union. Where the roads *divide*, where there is parting, separation, splitting, there we find the "division," the cleft[137]—the symbol of the mother and at the same time the essence of what the mother means for us, namely cleavage and farewell. Accordingly, the meaning of a sacrifice on this spot would be: propitiation of the mother in both senses. The temenos of Gaia, the fissure and the well, can easily be understood as the doors of life and death,[138] "past which man's steps have ever flinching trod,"[139] sacrificing there his obolus or his πέλανοι instead of his body, just as Heracles pacified Cerberus with the honey-cakes. Thus the crevice at Delphi with the Castalian spring was the habitation of the chthonic Python who was vanquished by the sun-hero Apollo. The Python, incited by Hera, had pursued Apollo's mother Leto when he was still in her womb; but she fled to the floating island of Delos on a night sea journey and was there safely delivered of her child, who later saw the Pe[illegible] In [illegible] a temple was [illegible] over the [illegible] and in Jerusalem the [illegible] the temple was [illegible] over the great abyss [illegible] same way [illegible] are often [illegible] over caves, grottoes, wells, etc. We find the same motif in the Grotto of Mithras [illegible] and the various other sacred caves, including the Christian catacombs, which owe their importance not to [illegible] persecutions but to the cult of the dead. Even the [illegible] of the dead in consecrated ground (garden of the dead, cloisters, crypts, etc.) [illegible] back to the mother [illegible] purpose. In olden times the [illegible] human [illegible] Hence the [illegible] the dead and the [illegible] to [illegible] the [illegible] Christian [illegible] have been [illegible] Christian [illegible] In the [illegible] Hades [illegible] Demeter [illegible] was fed with a snake [illegible] in a cave [illegible] In the [illegible] the same [illegible] was [illegible] snake was [illegible] The sacred [illegible]

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[137] The relation of these words to one another, and to the "mother," is etymologically apparent in the German: *Scheidung*, 'parting,' in the sense of 'division'; *Abschied*, 'parting,' in the sense of 'farewell'; *Scheide*, 'parting,' in the sense of 'line of separation,' as in *Wasserscheide*, 'watershed'; hence 'sheath, scabbard.' *Scheide* also means 'vagina.'—TRANS.

[138] Cf. the symbolism in the Melk hymn to Mary (12th century):

Sancta Maria
Closed gate
Opened at God's command—
Sealed fountain,
Locked garden,
Gate of Paradise. (Cf. Song of Solomon 4:12.)

There is the same symbolism in the erotic verse:

Maiden, let me enter with you
Into your rose garden
Where the red rosebuds grow
Those delicate and tender rosebuds,
With a tree nearby
Rustling to and fro,
And the deep cool well
That lies below.

[139] *Faust*, cf. above, p. 272.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[142] Cf. Schultze, *Die Katakomben*, pp. 9ff.

[143] [illegible] Herzog, p. 214.

[144] Further evidence in ibid., p. 115.

[145] [illegible]

ment served the purpose of a treasure-house: the snake-pit had become a slot for monies, a "poor-box," as we have already heard. That this development is in accordance with archaeological evidence is proved by a discovery in the temple of Asklepios and Hygeia at Ptolemais:

> A coiled granite snake with an arched neck was found. In the middle of the coils there is a narrow slit, polished by use, just large enough to allow a coin [illegible] to pass through [illegible]. At the sides are holes for handles to lift this heavy object, the lower half of which can be described as a box.[145]

578 Here the serpent lies on the treasury as protector of the hoard. Fear of the maternal womb has become the guardian of the treasure of life. That the snake really is a death symbol is evident from the fact that the souls of the dead, like the chthonic gods, appear as serpents, as dwellers in the kingdom of the deadly mother.[146]

579 The development of the symbol, showing how the crevice in the earth, at the primitive level as the mother, came to signify the [illegible] of the treasure, [illegible] corresponds to the etymology of Gk. [illegible] "hoard," as suggested by Kluge [illegible] from [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible], which he associates with [illegible], has a similar meaning, cavity or womb. Prellwitz takes [illegible] on this connection. On the other hand [illegible] combines [illegible] [illegible] with Armen. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Skr. [illegible] [illegible] from the [illegible] root [illegible] abdomen, chamber, storeroom. [illegible] Prellwitz connects [illegible] with [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Skr. [illegible] [illegible] of the lyre, also with [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to be pregnant. Whence also [illegible] vessel, skin, [illegible] [illegible] cup [illegible] expression [illegible] swelling [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to swell, be strong [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Lat. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] cave [illegible] [illegible] cavity [illegible]

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[145] Herzog, p. 212.

[146] Rohde, *Psyche*, p. 163.

[147] [illegible] *Wörterbuch der* [illegible] [illegible] p. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[148] Fick, I, p. 424.

[illegible] statue.[186] [illegible] swelling [illegible] pregnant [illegible] Skr. [illegible], swelling.[187]

580 The treasure which the hero fetches from the dark cavern is life: it is himself, new-born from the dark maternal cave of the unconscious where he was stranded by the introversion or regression of libido. Hence the Hindu fire-bringer is called Matarisvan, "he who swells in the mother." The hero who clings to the mother is the dragon, and when he is reborn from the mother he becomes the conqueror of the dragon. (Pl. LXVa.) He shares this paradoxical nature with the snake. According to Philo, the snake is the most spiritual of all creatures; it is of a fiery nature and its swiftness is terrible. It has a long life and sloughs off old age with its skin.[188] In actual fact the snake is a cold-blooded creature, unconscious and unrelated. It is both toxic and prophylactic, equally a symbol of the good and bad daemon (the Agathodaimon), of Christ and the devil. Among the Gnostics it was regarded as a symbol of the brain-stem and spinal cord, as is consistent with its predominantly reflex psychology. It is an excellent symbol for the unconscious, perfectly expressing the latter's sudden and unexpected manifestations, its painful and dangerous intervention in our affairs, and its frightening effects. Taken purely as a psychologem the hero represents the positive, favourable action of the unconscious, while the dragon is its negative and unfavourable action—not a birth, but a devouring; not a beneficial and constructive deed,

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[186] [illegible] the statue [illegible] the case [illegible] a place of [illegible] See [illegible] and [illegible] is also found in a Basel [illegible] hence the [illegible] of how the [illegible] the Egyptian [illegible] which [illegible] a flash [illegible] gave a [illegible]

[187] [illegible] with Olym[illegible] [illegible] But the connection is regarded as doubtful or improbable.

[188] Maehly, *Die Schlange im Mythus und Kultus*, p. 7.

[illegible]

[illegible]

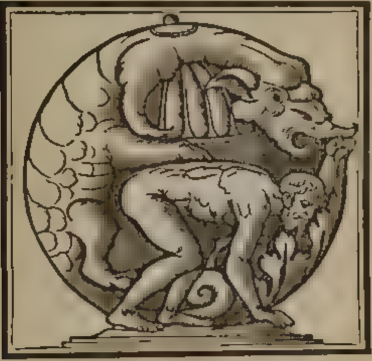

Fig. 35. The assault by the dragon
From Vitruvius, De architectura, Venice, 1511

dynamism [illegible] phy.

can also be seen in the [illegible] language, as for instance in the comparative of good [illegible] better. [illegible] however derives from the old word [illegible] meaning good. The related English word is [illegible] its comparative would [illegible] be better [illegible] badder. What happens everywhere in language happens also in mythology: in one version of a fairytale we find [illegible] in another the devil.[155] And how often has it happened in the history of religion that [illegible] mysteries degenerate into [illegible][156] Thus [illegible] which arose at the beginning of the [illegible] century [illegible]

The [illegible] that they [illegible] They have [illegible] and drunk the wine of fornication.

582 [illegible] was called [illegible]

Black-haired, very charming, with [illegible] of handsome countenance, everyone [illegible] speaking [illegible] the graceful speeches which flow from [illegible] therefore [illegible] the virgins [illegible] thee.[158]

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[155] [Etymologically, 'devil' and 'divinity' are both related to Skr. deva, 'demon.'—Trans.]

[156] Cf. the account of [illegible] Russian [illegible] in Merezhkovsky, [illegible] *Geschlechtsleben in der Völkerpsychologie*.

[157] [illegible] breast of Hera.

[158] From the [illegible] Reitzenstein [illegible] I have to thank the Rev. O. Pfister for [illegible]

583 He continues:

We [illegible] men [illegible] God has created man in his own image, as [illegible] male [illegible] has blessed them and said: "Be fruitful [illegible] the earth [illegible]." Therefore has he given [illegible] your members and placed them [illegible] the garden.

Now are the fig leaves and the covering removed, because ye have turned to the Lord [illegible] where the [illegible] of the Lord [illegible] there [illegible] of the Lord [illegible] restored [illegible] precious before God [illegible] our God [illegible] naked and unashamed.

Who [illegible] ever [illegible] sons and daughters of the living God, whose members [illegible] procreation?

In the [illegible] of the [illegible] gate of the Lord, and the [illegible]. And in the [illegible] the sons of the living God [illegible] water pipe of the upper [illegible] erected the sacred stones as a sign, and [illegible] taken to himself the seed of Abraham.

Out of the seed [illegible] God creates with his hand a man formed in his [illegible] the house of the mother and the chamber [illegible] daughters of the living God [illegible] through them. Thus God creates children from stones, for the seed comes from the stones.

584 History has numerous examples of how easily the mystery can turn into a sexual orgy just because it grows out of the opposite of the orgy. It is [illegible] return again to the symbol of the stone [illegible] the mystery [illegible] entered into the [illegible] and spirit [illegible] the [illegible] In the mysteries of the Ophites, [illegible] was decorated with

---

[illegible] "And [illegible] parable I also gave [illegible] a few [illegible] brought to [illegible] Genesis 24 : 2f. and 47 : 29f.—EDITORS.

Who is the shepherd [illegible] the serpent crawled? Who is the man [illegible] whose throat all the heaviest and blackest [illegible] crawl?[155]

But the shepherd bit [illegible] he bit with a strong bite! Far [illegible] he spat the head of the serpent [illegible]

No longer a shepherd, no longer a man [illegible] being which laughed! Never yet on earth did a human being laugh as he laughed!

O my brethren, I heard a laughter which was no human laughter [illegible] a longing that is never [illegible]

My longing for that laughter consumes me! O how can I bear to live, and how could I bear to die![156]

586 The experience described here by Nietzsche can be interpreted [illegible] as we said above, the snake [illegible] which, like the snake-god in the Sabazios mysteries, crawls into the mouth of the celebrant. [illegible] Nietzsche [illegible] with God. The snake [illegible] but fear was swifter and more violent, and he bit the snake's head and spat it out. If you want [illegible] you have only to tread on its [illegible] the snake [illegible] compensation [illegible] only to read the passages in *Zarathustra* where Nietzsche mocks [illegible] and laughter [illegible] German [illegible] Nietzsche's sermon.

587 The unconscious [illegible] in the form of a snake if the conscious mind is [illegible] the compensatory tendency of the unconscious [illegible] regression. But if the compensation is [illegible] and the [illegible]

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155 Cf. [illegible]

156 *Thus Spake Zarathustra* [illegible] I, pp. 371–72.

live snakes, and the reptiles were even kissed. (Cf. the kissing of the Demeter serpent in the Eleusinian mysteries.) This kiss plays a not unimportant part in the sexual orgies of certain modern Christian sects.

585 One of my patients dreamt that a snake shot out of a cave and bit him in the genital region. This dream occurred at the moment when the patient was convinced of the truth of the analysis and was beginning to free himself from the bonds of his mother-complex. He felt that he was making progress and that he had more control over himself. But the moment he felt the impulse to go forward he also felt the pull of the bond to his mother. Being bitten in the genital region by a snake reminds us of Attis, whose self-castration was occasioned by his mother's jealousy. Another patient had the following dream after a relapse into neurosis: She was completely filled inside with an enormous snake. Only the end of its tail stuck out from her arm. She tried to seize hold of it, but it slithered away. A third patient complained that a snake was stuck in her throat.[48] Nietzsche uses this symbolism in his "vision" of the shepherd and the snake:

> And verily, what I saw was like nothing I ever saw before. I saw a young shepherd writhing, choking, twitching, with distorted countenance, and with a heavy black serpent hanging out of his mouth.
>
> Had I ever seen so much loathing and pale horror on a human countenance?[49] Perhaps he had been asleep, and the serpent had crawled into his mouth—and bitten fast.
>
> My hand tugged at the serpent and tugged in vain. I could not pull the serpent out of his throat. Then a cry broke from me: "Bite! Bite its head off! Bite hard!" My horror, my hatred, my loathing, my pity, and my good and bad broke from me in one cry.
>
> You bold men around me, you venturers and adventurers . . . solve me the riddle I then saw, interpret the vision of the loneliest man!
>
> For it was a vision and a foresight: *what* did I then see in a semblance? And *who* is it that is to come?

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[48] Cf. Nietzsche's poem: "Why hast thou enticed thyself Into the old serpent's Paradise?" Cf. par. 459, above.

[49] Nietzsche himself seems to have shown at times a certain predilection for loathsome animals. Cf. Bernoulli, *Franz Overbeck und Friedrich Nietzsche*, I, p. 166.

It must be admitted, however, that the problem as it presented itself to Nietzsche was anything but easy. Nobody would expect the shepherd to swallow down a snake under such circumstances. We are confronted here with one of those fatal cases, by no means rare, where the simple solution appears in a form that cannot be accepted and could only be overcome by something that is equally impossible for the patient. Cases of this kind occur when the unconscious has been repressed for too long on principle and a wedge violently driven between instinct and the conscious mind.

588 Through introversion, as numerous historical witnesses testify, one is fertilized, inspired, regenerated, and reborn. In Indian philosophy this idea of creative spiritual activity has even acquired a cosmogonic significance. According to the Rig-Veda X, 121, the unknown creator of all things is Prajapati, "Lord of Creation." His cosmogonic activity is described as follows in the various Brahmanas:

> Prajapati desired: "I will propagate myself, I will be many." He practised *tapas*, and after he had practised *tapas* he created these worlds.[365]

589 The term *tapas* is to be translated, according to Deussen,[366] as "he heated himself with his own heat,"[367] in the sense that "he brooded his own brooding," brooder and brooded being conceived not as separate, but as one and the same thing. As Hiranyagarbha (the Golden Germ), Prajapati is the self-begotten egg, the cosmic egg from which he hatches himself (fig. 36). He creeps into himself, becomes his own womb, makes himself pregnant with himself in order to hatch forth the world of multiplicity. Thus Prajapati transforms himself by introversion into something new, into the multiplicity of the world. It is particularly interesting to note the gradual approximation of widely divergent ideas. Deussen says:

> Just as, in a hot country like India, the idea of *tapas* became the symbol of strenuous effort and suffering, so the *tapo atapyata* gradually took on the meaning of self-castigation and became associated with the view [illegible] that creation is an act of self-abnegation on the part of the creator.[368]

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[365] Rig-Veda, X, 121, trans. from Deussen, *Geschichte*, I, p. [illegible]

[366] Ibid., pp. 181f.

[367] *So tapo 'tapyata.*

[368] *Geschichte*, I, p. 182.

590 Self-incubation,[88] self-castigation, and introversion are closely related ideas. Immersion in oneself (introversion) is a penetration into the unconscious and at the same time asceticism. The result, for the philosophy of the Brahmanas, is the creation of the world, and for the mystic the regeneration and spiritual rebirth of the individual, who is born into a new world of the spirit. Indian philosophy also assumes that creativity as such springs from introversion. Rig-Veda X. 129 says:

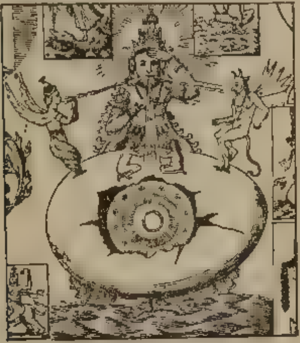

Fig. 31. Prajapati with the world-egg
India

> Then the One, that was hidden in the shell,
> Was born through the force of fiery torment.

---

[88] The Stoic conception of creative heat, which we have already recognized as libido (p. 67, n. 51 above), is a kindred idea. Like the birth of Mithras from a stone "through the sole heat of libido."

From it there arose in the beginning love,[170]
Which was the germ and the seed of knowledge.
The wise found the root of being in not-being,
By investigating the impulses of the human heart.[171]

591 This philosophical view conceives the world as an emanation of libido. When, therefore, the insane Schreber brought about the end of the world through his introversion, he was withdrawing libido from the world about him, thereby making it unreal.[172] Schopenhauer tried in exactly the same way to abolish through negation (the equivalent of holiness and asceticism) the cardinal error of the Primal Will in creating the world at all. Does not Goethe also say: "Is not the core of nature in the heart of man?"

592 The hero who sets himself the task of renewing the world and conquering death personifies the world-creating power which, brooding on itself in introversion, coiled round its own egg like a snake, threatens life with its poisonous bite, so that the living may die and be born again from the darkness. The same idea is found in Nietzsche:

How long already have you sat on your misfortune?
Give heed, lest you hatch me
An egg,
A basilisk egg
From your long travail.[173]

593 The hero is himself the snake, himself the sacrificer and the sacrificed, which is why Christ rightly compares himself with the healing Moses serpent (cf. pl. XLb), and why the saviour of the Christian Ophites was a serpent too. It is both Agathodaimon (fig. 37) and Cacodaimon. In German legend we are told that the heroes have snake's eyes.[174]

594 Clear traces of the original identity of hero and snake are to be found in the myth of Cecrops. Cecrops was half snake, half man. In primitive times he was probably the snake of the Athenian citadel itself. As a buried god he was, like Erechtheus, a chthonic snake-deity. Above his subterranean dwelling rose

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[170] Kama = Eros, and = the libido.
[171] Trans. from Deussen, I, p. 123.
[172] *Memoirs of My Nervous Illness.*
[173] "Glory and Eternity" ("Ruhm und Ewigkeit"), in *Werke*, VIII, p. 425.
[174] Grimm, IV, p. 1593. Sigurd was called Ormr î Auga (Snake's Eye).

the Parthenon, the temple of the virgin goddess. The flaying of the god, which we have already touched on in connection with the flaying ceremonies of the Aztecs, is intimately bound up with the snake-like nature of the hero. It is reported of Mani, the founder of Manichaeism, that he was killed, flayed, stuffed, and hung up.[175] The hanging up of the god has an unmistakable symbolic value, since suspension is the symbol of unfulfilled longing or tense expectation ("suspense"). Christ, Odin, Attis, and others all hung upon trees. Jesus ben Pandira suffered such

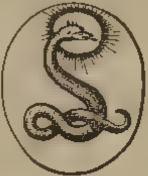

Fig. 27. Agathodaimon serpent
Antique gem

a death on the eve of the Feast of the Passover in the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (106–79 B.C.). This Jesus is supposed to have been the founder of the Essene sect,[176] which had certain links with the Christianity that came afterwards. The Jesus ben Stada who was identified with the earlier Jesus but was later supposed to have lived in the second century A.D., was also hanged. Both were first stoned, a punishment which was, so to speak, a bloodless one like hanging. This may not be without significance in the light of a strange ceremony reported from Uganda:

> When a king of Uganda wished to live for ever, he went to a place in Busiro, where a feast was given by the chiefs. At the feast the Mamba clan[177] was especially active in honour and during the

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[175] Galatians 3 : 27 contains an allusion to this primitive idea: "For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ" (RSV). The word used here, ἐνδύειν, induere, means literally to put on, to hide oneself in, insinuate oneself into.

[176] Cf. Robertson, *Christianity and Mythology*, p. 395.

[177] The mamba is the African cobra.

festivities a member of this clan was secretly chosen by his fellows, caught by them and beaten to death with their fists; no stick or other weapon might be used by the men appointed to do the deed. After death the victim's body was flayed and the skin made into a [illegible]. After the ceremony of the feast in Busiro, with its strange sacrifice, the king of Uganda was supposed to live for ever, but from that day he was never allowed to see his mother again.[178]

595 Marsyas, who seems to have been a substitute for Attis, the son-lover of Cybele, was also skinned.[179] Whenever a Scythian king died, his slaves and horses were slaughtered, skinned, and stuffed, and then set up again.[180] In Phrygia the representatives of the father-god were killed and skinned. The same was done in Athens with an ox, which was skinned and stuffed and afterwards harnessed to the plough. In this way the renewal of the earth's fertility was celebrated.[181]

596 The god-hero, symbolized by the spring zodion (Aries, Taurus), descends to his lowest point in winter, overcomes it, and having passed beyond the summer solstice is himself overcome, as if by an unconscious longing for death. Nevertheless he is divided within himself, and his descent and approaching end therefore seem to him like evil designs of the sinister mother who secretly lays a poisonous snake in his path to undo him. The mysteries, however, hold out the consoling promise that there is no contradiction[182] and no disharmony when life changes into death: "The bull is the father of the dragon and the dragon is the father of the bull."[183]

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[178] Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Part IV, p. 405.

[179] Ibid., p. 242. [180] Ibid., p. 246.

[181] Ibid., p. 249. Concerning the flaying motif, see my "Transformation Symbolism in the Mass," par. 348.

[182] Another formulation of this contradiction seems to be the Dioscuri motif: two brothers who resemble one another, one mortal, the other immortal. This motif is found in Indian mythology as the two Asvins, though here they are not differentiated. It appears very clearly in Shvetashvatara Upanishad 4.6 as the companion birds who "clasp the selfsame tree," i.e., as the personal and suprapersonal atman. In the Mithraic cult, Mithras is the father, Sol the son, and yet both are one as ὁ μέγας θεὸς Ἥλιος Μίθρας, the great god Helios Mithras. (Cf. Dieterich, p. 68.) That is to say, man does not change at death into his immortal part, but is mortal and immortal even in life, being both ego and self.

[183] ταῦρος δράκοντος καὶ πατὴρ ταύρου δράκων. Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanarum religionum*, XXVI, 1, p. 67.

597 Nietzsche voices the same mysterious truth:

Here I sit,
Or rather,
Here I am swallowed down
By this smallest oasis.
Yawning it opened
Its lovely lips—
All hail to that whale
If he provides thus
For his guest's welfare!

Hail to his belly,
If it is
Such a lovely oasis belly!

The desert grows: woe to him who hides deserts!
Stone grinds on stone, the desert gulps and strangles.
Monstrous Death, glowing under his tan,
Stares and chews [illegible] his life is his chewing
O man burnt out by lust, do not forget:
You are the stone, the desert, the death's-head.[184]

598 After slaying the dragon, Siegfried meets father Wotan, who is plagued by gloomy cares because the earth-mother Erda has laid the old serpent in his path in order to enfeeble him. He says to Erda:

All-knowing one,
Care's piercing sting
By thee was planted
In Wotan's dauntless heart.
With fear of shameful
Ruin and downfall,
Thy knowledge filled him:
The fearful tidings
Choked his breast!
Art thou the world's wisest woman?
Then tell me
How may a god conquer his care?

Erda: Thy name
Is not as thou sayest.

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[184] *Werke*, VIII, p. 415.

599 With poisonous stings the mother has robbed her son of the joy of life and deprived him of the power which lies in the secret name. Just as Isis demanded the secret name of Ra, so Erda says: "Thy name is not as thou sayest." But the Wanderer has found a way to conquer the fatal charm of the mother:

The gods' downfall
No more dismays me
Since I willed their doom

To the loveliest Wälsung
I leave my heritage;
To the eternally young
Joyously yields the god![185]

600 These wise words contain, in fact, the saving thought: it is not the mother who lays the poisonous worm in our path, but life itself, which wills itself to complete the sun's course, to mount from morning to noon, and then, crossing the meridian, to hasten towards evening, no more at odds with itself, but desiring the descent and the end.[186]

601 Nietzsche's Zarathustra says:

> I praise my death, the free death which comes to me because *I* desire it.

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[185] Wagner, *Siegfried*, p. 208 [illegible] 26, 27, 224ff., 44.

[186] It is a striking fact that the sun-killing heroes Samson and Heracles fight without weapons (cf. fig. [illegible]). The lion is a symbol of the fierce heat of midsummer; astrologically, it is the domicilium Solis. Steinthal ("Die Sage von Simson," p. 99) reasons as follows: "When, therefore, the sun-god fights the summer heat, he is fighting himself; if he kills it, he kills himself. . . . The Phoenicians and Assyrians and Lydians believed that their sun-god was committing suicide, for only as suicide could they comprehend how the sun's heat could grow less. Therefore, when the sun stood at its highest in summer and scorched everything with its burning rays, they thought: thus the god burns himself, but he does not die, he only rejuvenates himself." Heracles, too, burns himself alive, but mounts to Olympus in the flames. This is the contradiction in the pagan gods: as forces of nature they are both helpful and harmful to men. So, in order to do good and rescue mankind, they must work against themselves. The contradiction is mitigated if each of the two sides of the force of nature is personified as a separate god, or if both are conceived as a single divine person, the beneficent and the pernicious sides each being assigned a separate symbol. The symbol then becomes more and more autonomous, and in the end becomes a god itself; and whereas originally the god worked against himself and destroyed himself, now symbol fights against symbol, god against god, or the god against the symbol. The hero has no weapons precisely because he fights himself.

And when shall I desire it?
He who has a goal and an heir desires death at the proper time for the goal and the heir.[167]

602 Nietzsche's *amor fati* is somewhat overdone, and like an ailing Superman he tries to be always one jump ahead of fate. Siegfried is more cautious: he conquers father Wotan and sets out to win Brünnhilde. The first thing he sees is her horse, then he thinks he espies a man sleeping in armour. He cuts off the coat of mail, and when he sees that it is a woman he is seized with terror:

My heart doth faint and falter!
On whom shall I call for help?
Mother! Mother!
Remember me!
Can this be fear?
O Mother, Mother,
Thy dauntless child!
A woman lies sleeping
And she has taught him to fear!

Awake, awake!
Holiest maid! . . .
So shall I suck life
From sweetest lips,
Even though I die in a kiss!

603 In the duet which immediately follows the mother is invoked:

O mother, hail,
Who gave me birth!

604 Brünnhilde's avowal is particularly significant:

Didst thou but know,
O joy of the world,
How I have ever loved thee!
Thou wert my gladness,
Thou wert my care!
Thy tender life I sheltered
Before it was thine.

---

[167] "Voluntary Death," in *Zarathustra* (trans. by Common, p. 85).

Before thou wert born
My shield was thy guard.[98]

605 Brünnhilde, standing to Wotan in a daughter-anima relationship, is clearly revealed here as the symbolical or spiritual mother of Siegfried, thus confirming the psychological rule that the first carrier of the anima-image is the mother. Siegfried says:

Then death took not my mother?
Was the loved one but sleeping?

606 The mother-image, at first identical with the anima, represents the feminine aspect of the hero himself. Brünnhilde tells him as much in the words:

Thine own self am I
In the bliss of thy love!

607 As the anima she is the mother-sister-wife, and as the pre-existent archetype she has always loved him:

O Siegfried, Siegfried,
Conquering light!
Always I have loved thee,
For I alone divined
Wotan's hidden thought—
The thought which I never
Dared to name,
Which I dared not think,
Which I only felt,
For which I fought,
Struggled and strove,
For which I defied
Him who conceived it . . .
Canst thou not guess?
It was naught but my love for thee!

608 The anima-image brings with it still other aspects of the mother-imago, amongst others those of water and submersion:

A glorious flood
Before me rolls.
With all my senses

---

[98] Siegfried, pp. 84–85; 2496–2500, 2511–16, 2542–43, 2558–59. It was an Etruscan custom to bury the cinerary urn of the dead man in the earth and cover it with a shield.

I only see
Its buoyant, gladdening billows. . . .
I long to plunge
My burning heat
In the water's balm,
Just as I am
To sink in the flood
O that its billows
Might drown me in bliss!

609 The water represents the maternal depths and the place of rebirth; in short, the unconscious in its positive and negative aspects. But the mystery of regeneration is of an awe-inspiring nature: it is a deadly embrace. There is an allusion to the terrible mother of heroes, who teaches them fear, in the words of Brünnhilde, the horse-woman who conducts the dead to the other side:

Fearest thou, Siegfried?
Fearest thou not
The wild, raging woman?

610 The orgiastic 'Occide moriturus' from the love-scene in the metamorphosis of Apuleius resounds in Brünnhilde's words:

Laughing let us be lost.
Laughing go down to death.

611 And in the cry

Light-giving love,
Laughing death![188]

we find the same significant contrast. These orgiastic frenzies and barbaric extremes are in the very nature of the *Mater saeva cupidinum* and determine the fate of the hero. Luck must stand unbidden and unforeseen at his side if he is not to perish of exaggerated self-confidence at the very first undertaking. But his mother-anima is blind, and his fate overtakes him sooner or later regardless of his luck, in most cases sooner. The subsequent fate of Siegfried is the fate of every archetypal hero: the spear of the one-eyed Hagen, the Dark One, strikes his vulnerable spot. In the shape of Hagen the one-eyed Wotan slays the son. The hero is the ideal masculine type, leaving the mother

[188] *Siegfried*, III, 2556-62, 2565-66, 2571-90, 2748-50, 2797-99, 2818-19, 2862-69.

[illegible]

[illegible] as compensation.

[illegible]

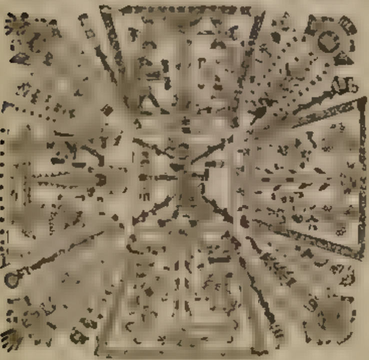

Fig. 38. World plan
From an Aztec codex

[illegible]

[illegible] parable of the ca[illegible] an archetype of the self. His divinity only confirms that the self is numinous, a sort of god, or having some share in the divine nature. In this mythologem may lie the root of the argument in favour of "homoousia." For psychology it makes a vast difference whether the self is to be considered "of the same nature" as the Father (ὁμοούσιος), or merely "of a similar nature" (ὁμοιούσιος). The decision in favour of homoousia was of great psychological importance, for it asserted that Christ is of the same nature as

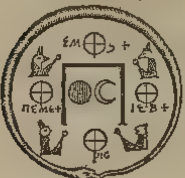

Fig. 39. The four corners of the zodiac, sun and moon in centre. Coptic emblem

God. But Christ, from the point of view of psychology and comparative religion, is a typical manifestation of the self. For psychology the self is an *imago Dei* and cannot be distinguished from it empirically. (Cf. pl. lx.) The two ideas are therefore of the same nature. The hero is the protagonist of God's transformation in man; he corresponds to what I call the "mana personality."[192] The latter has such an immense fascination for the conscious mind that the ego all too easily succumbs to the temptation to identify with the hero, thus bringing on a psychic inflation with all its consequences. For this reason the repugnance felt by certain ecclesiastical circles for the "inner Christ" is understandable enough, at least as a preventive measure against the danger of psychic inflation which threatens the Christian European. Although the religion and philosophy of India are largely dominated by the idea of homoousia,[193] there is less danger in this direction because the Indian has an equally homoousian idea of God and man, which is very definitely not the case with the Christian. The latter has far too little introspection to be able to realize what modifications his present conception of God, the homoousia of the self and man, would involve. I hope my reader will pardon these reflections which may seem very remote from our theme. I add them here only to put the numinosity of the hero archetype in the right perspective.[198]

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[192] See "The Relations between the Ego and the Unconscious," pars. 374ff.

[193] Identity of the personal and the suprapersonal atman.

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[198] Cf. *Psychological Types*, 1923 edn., pp. 245ff., and *Aion*, the chapters on the symbolism of the self.

VIII

THE SACRIFICE[1]

619 Let us now turn back to the Miller fantasies and watch the final act of the drama. Chiwantopel cries out with painful emotion:

"In all the world there is not a single one! I have searched among a hundred tribes. I have aged a hundred moons since I began. Will there never be anyone who will know my soul? Yes, by almighty God, yes! For ten thousand moons will wax and wane before her pure soul is born. It is from another world that her parents will come to this one. She will be pale of skin and pale of hair. She will know sorrow before her mother bears her. Suffering will be her companion; she too will seek—and will find no one who understands her. Many a suitor will wish to pay court to her, but not one will know how to understand her. Temptation will often assail her soul, but she will not yield. In her dreams I shall come to her, and she will understand. I have kept my body inviolate. I have come ten thousand moons before her time, and she will come ten thousand moons too late. *But she will understand!* It is but once in ten thousand moons that a soul like hers is born."

A [illegible]. A green viper darts out of the undergrowth, glides towards him and stings him in the arm, then attacks the horse, which is the first to succumb. Then Chiwantopel says to the horse: "Farewell, faithful brother! Enter into your rest! I have loved you and you have served me well. Farewell, I shall rejoin you soon." Then to the serpent: "Thanks, little sister, you have put an end to my wanderings." Now he shrieks with pain and cries out in prayer: "Almighty God, take me soon! I have sought to know thee and to keep thy law. Oh, do not suffer my body to fall into corruption and decay and become carrion for the eagles!" A smoking volcano appears in the distance, the rumbling of an earthquake is heard, followed by a landslide. [illegible] crisis [illegible] an extremity [illegible] as the earth [illegible] she [illegible] safe [illegible] with [illegible]

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[1] [illegible] the [illegible] VII and VIII [illegible]

614 [illegible] is an echo from [illegible] Hiawatha, where, at the close, [illegible] the poet [illegible] resist the sentimentality [illegible] the white [illegible] Saviour [illegible] representative [illegible] Christian morals [illegible] of salvation accomplished by the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru and of the Indian wars in North America. With [illegible] the per[illegible] [illegible] deepest [illegible] of Chiwantopel [illegible] would [illegible] have married her [illegible] too late [illegible] gap in another sense. Miss Miller [illegible] separated by a gulf from the figure of Chiwantopel. [illegible] on the other side. She [illegible] seek him in [illegible] as he seeks [illegible] there [illegible] possib[illegible] and uncons[illegible] [illegible] state [illegible] consciousness [illegible] be [illegible] at first [illegible] their souls [illegible] brace [illegible] In this respect the situation [illegible] for Miss Miller [illegible] in palpable reality.

615 The next passage runs: "I have kept my body inviolate." This proud sentence [illegible] a woman [illegible] since a man is not given to boast [illegible] brings yet again [illegible] all [illegible] The [illegible] assertion [illegible] back to the abortive attempt [illegible] what exactly is meant [illegible] was often assailed, yet [illegible] she was [illegible] This statement [illegible] expresses the [illegible] which is as it were [illegible][2] [illegible]

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[2] Cf. Harding, *The Way of All Women*.

[illegible]

6[illegible]6 [illegible]

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[2] [Cf. MacNeice trans., p. 40

[illegible]

to compensate [illegible] conscious mind. So far [illegible] but if it [illegible] to [illegible] we may [illegible] that [illegible] highest degree [illegible] conceived as a [illegible] wanted [illegible] be [illegible] was [illegible] there would at least be some [illegible] and [illegible] greediness [illegible] was being [illegible] her [illegible] An [illegible] of the [illegible] it [illegible] Miss Miller is [illegible] that [illegible] Since she is in fact not [illegible] a very good chance of [illegible] as [illegible] results.[a]

617 When [illegible] we are [illegible] a [illegible] the conscious mind [illegible] with the result [illegible] the process of [illegible] in time and [illegible] the [illegible] are [illegible] representation [illegible] what [illegible] have [illegible] to stand [illegible] on the [illegible] of the body as well as [illegible] preserve it [illegible] her [illegible] what [illegible] wants to [illegible] on [illegible] the earth. But [illegible] the [illegible] years [illegible] hair [illegible] whether [illegible] we expose [illegible] the destructive forces of [illegible] keeping [illegible] time [illegible]

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[a] See [illegible] present work.

sumes our bodies nonetheless. Flight from life does not exempt us from the law of age and death. The neurotic who tries to wriggle out of the necessity of living wins nothing and only burdens himself with a constant foretaste of ageing and dying, which must appear especially cruel on account of the total emptiness and meaninglessness of his life. If it is not possible for the libido to strive forwards, to lead a life that willingly accepts all dangers and ultimate decay, then it strikes back along the other road and sinks into its own depths, working down to the old intimation of the immortality of all that lives, to the old longing for rebirth.

618 Hölderlin follows this path in his poetry and in his life. I will let the poet speak for himself:

To a Rose

In the mother womb eternal,
  Sweetest queen of every lea,
Still the living and supernal
  Nature carries thee and me.

Little rose, the tempest dire
  Strips our petals, ages us,
Yet the deathless seeds aspire
  To new blooms, miraculous.[8]

619 The following comments may be made on the imagery of this poem. The rose is a symbol of the beloved.[9] So when the poet dreams that he and the rose are in the womb of nature, it means psychologically that he is still in the mother. There he finds eternal germination and renewal, a potential life that has everything before it, containing in itself all possibilities of realization without his having to submit to the labour of giving them shape. Plutarch records the same motif in the naïve myth of Osiris and Isis mating in their mother's womb. Hölderlin likewise feels that it is the enviable prerogative of the gods to enjoy everlasting infancy. He says in "Hyperion's Song of Fate":

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[8] *Gedichte*, p. 55. As trans. in the Hinkle (1916) edn.

[9] It is indeed the emblem of the beloved and a designation for the Virgin Mary (mystical rose). Cf. Jung and Wilhelm, *The Secret of the Golden Flower* (1962 edn.), pp. 101ff., and the mandala symbolism in *Psychology and Alchemy*, pars. 99 and 139; also Hartlaub, *Giorgiones Geheimnis*.

Fateless, like the sleeping
Infant, breathe the heavenly ones,
Chastely guarded
In modest bud,
Their spirits
Blossom eternally
And the quiet eyes
Gaze out in placid
Eternal serenity.[8]

640 This quotation shows what he means by heavenly bliss. Hölderlin was never able to forget this first and greatest happiness whose dazzling presence estranged him from real life. The motif of the twins in the mother's womb is found in the African legend recorded by Frobenius,[9] of the Big Snake which grew out of a little snake in a hollow tree ("stretching forth" of the serpent!), and which devoured all human beings (devouring mother = death), until only one pregnant woman remained. She dug a ditch, covered it with a stone, and there gave birth to twins who afterwards became dragon-killers. The mating in the mother also occurs in the following West African legend: In the beginning, Obatala the Sky and Odudua the Earth, his wife, lay pressed close together in a calabash.[10] Being "guarded in modest bud" is an image that is found in Plutarch, where it is said that the sun is born at dawn from a flower bud. Brahma too comes out of a bud of lotus, and in Assam a bud gave birth to the first human pair.

Man

Scarcely had the ancient mountain-tops
Sprouted from the waters, O earth,
And the first green islands, redolent
With young saplings, breathed delight
Through the May air over the ocean,
And the joyful eye of the sun-god
Looked down on his firstlings, the trees and flowers,
Laughing children of his youth, your offspring,
When on the fairest of those islands
Born after a warm night in the dawn-glow long ago,
Earth's most beautiful child

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[8] *Gedichte*, p. 315. [Based on the trans. in the Hinkle [illegible] edn.
[9] *Zeitalter*, p. 68. [10] Ibid., p. 269.

Lay under clustering grapes. And the boy
Looked up to Father Helios, who knew him,
And, tasting the sweet berries, he chose
The sacred vine for his nurse.
And soon he is grown; the beasts
Fear him, for he is other than they,
A Man. He is not like you and not
Like the father, for boldly the high
Soul of the father in him is united
With your joys and your sadness for always,
O earth. Rather would he resemble
Eternal nature, mother of gods, the terrible.

Therefore, O earth, his presumption
Drives him away from your breast, and your tender
Gifts are in vain; ever and ever too high
Does the proud heart beat.

Leaving the sweet meadow of his shores
Man must go out into flowerless waters,
And though his orchards shine like the starry night
With golden fruit, yet he digs

Caves for himself in the mountains and grubs in the pit
Far from the sacred ray of his father,
Faithless also to the sun-god, who
Loves not toilers and mocks at cares.

Ah, the birds of the wood breathe freer, and though
The breast of man more wildly and proudly heaves,
His arrogance turns to fear, and the delicate
Flowers of tranquillity bloom not for long.[11]

614 This poem contains the first hint of discord between the poet and nature; he begins to feel estranged from reality. Note that the little child chooses the "vine for his nurse." This Dionysian allusion reminds us of Judah in Jacob's blessing (Genesis 49 : 11): "Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt unto the choice vine."

615 There is a Gnostic gem showing a she-ass suckling her foal, surmounted by the sign of Cancer and the inscription 'D N IHV XPS': *Dominus noster Jesus Christus*, to which is added,

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[11] *Gedichte*, p. 115.

[illegible].[2] As Justin Martyr [illegible] observes, the connections between the Christian legend and that of Dionysus are unmistakable, e.g., the miracle of the wine. In the Dionysus legend the ass plays an important part as the steed of Silenus. The ass pertains to the "second sun," Saturn, who was the star of Israel and is therefore to some extent identical with Yahweh. The mock crucifix on the Palatine with an ass's head (cf. pl. XLIII) is an allusion to the tale that an ass's head was worshipped in the temple at Jerusalem.[3] The difference between Christians and Jews was at that time not very clear to an outsider.

663 Hölderlin is mainly concerned with the Dionysian nature of man: the wine is his nurse and his ambition is to resemble the eternal Nature, mother of gods, "the terrible." The "terrible Mother" is the *mater saeva cupidinum*, unbridled and unbroken Nature represented by the most paradoxical god of the Greeks, namely Dionysus, who significantly enough was also Nietzsche's god, although actually Nietzsche's original experience suggests rather the sinister huntsman Wotan. Wagner was more explicit on this point.

664 Presumption drives man away from the mother and from the earth and estranges him from the sacred ray of his father until his arrogance changes into fear. As a child of nature he falls into discord with her precisely because he tries to resemble the mother of gods. No reason guides him, only the Dionysian *libido effrenata*.

To Nature

While about thy veil I lingered, playing,
And like any bud upon thee hung,[4]
Still I felt thy heart in every straying
Sound about my heart that shook and clung.
While I groped with faith and pain and yearning
To your picture, glowing and unfurled,
Still I found a place for all my pouring
Tears, and for my love I found a world.

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[2] Robertson, *Christianity and Mythology*, p. [illegible].

[3] Cf. Tacitus, *Historiae*, V, 4, and Josephus, *Against Apion*, II, 7. [illegible]

[4] After our discussion of Hölderlin's poems, it will be clear that Nature is to be understood as the mother. Cf. the [illegible] where the [illegible] appears as a tree upon which the child hangs like a bud. Cf. [illegible]

To the sun my heart before all others
[illegible] as if it heard [illegible] cry,
And it named the stars its brothers
As it called the spring God's melody,
And in every breeze [illegible]
Heard thy spirit and that same sweet joy
Moved the well-springs of my heart with beauty—
Those were golden days without alloy.

Where the spring is cool in every valley[16]
And the youngest bush and twig is green,
And about the rocks the grasses rally
And the branches show the sky between,
There I lay, imbibing every flower
In a rapt, intoxicated glee,
And, surrounded by a golden shower,
From on high the clouds sank down to me![17]

Often, as a weary, wandering river
Longs to [illegible] the ocean's joy and mirth,
I have wept and lost myself forever
In the fulness of thy love, O earth!

---

[15] In connection with his calling the stars his brothers, I would remind the reader of what I said in Part I, [illegible] about the [illegible] identification with the stars: "I am a star wandering together with you" [illegible] Separation and differentiation [illegible] from the mother [illegible] subject and object, which is the foundation of consciousness. Before this man was one with the mother [illegible] he was merged with the world as a whole. He did not yet know the sun was his brother; only after the separation did he begin to [illegible] his affinity with the stars. This is a not [illegible] occurrence in psychosis. For instance, in the case of a young [illegible] man who developed schizophrenia, the first symptoms [illegible] consisted in the feeling that he had a special relation to the sun and the stars. The stars became full of meaning [illegible] he thought they had something to do with him personally, and the sun gave him all sorts of strange ideas. [illegible] has apparently quite novel feeling for Nature very often in [illegible] disease. [illegible] and the language of the birds [illegible] messages [illegible] his sweetheart [illegible] Siegfried.

[16] Springs, fountains, [illegible] are images of vitality.

[17] This image expresses the state of [illegible] as in Hölderlin's Hyperion's Song of Fate [illegible] Hamburger, p. 129:

"You walk above in the light
On soft floors, O blessed genii!
Shining breezes of gods
Touch you lightly."

Then, with every other joyful being,
Forth I rushed from Time's captivity,
Like a pilgrim home from travel fleeing
To the arms of rapt Eternity.

Blest be childhood's golden dreams, their power
Hid from me life's dismal poverty,
All the heart's good seeds ye brought to flower,
Things I could not reach, ye gave to me!
In thy beauty and thy light, O Nature,
Of all effort and compulsion free,[18]
Fruitful love attained a kingly stature,
Rich as harvests reaped in Arcady.

That which brought me up is dead and riven,
Dead the youthful world which was my shield,
And this breast, which used to harbour heaven,
Dead and dry as any stubble field.
Though the songs of springtime sound as ever,
Bringing friendly comfort to my smart,
Yet the morning of my life is over
And the spring has faded from my heart.

Shadows are the things that once we cherished,
Love itself must fade and cannot bide;
Since the golden dreams of youth have perished,
Even friendly Nature's self has died.
Heart, poor heart, those days could never show it—
How far-off thy home, and where it lies;
Now, alas, thou nevermore wilt know it
If a dream of it does not suffice.[19]

Palinode

What gathers about me, Earth, in your dusky, friendly green?
What do you waft me, airs, what do you bring me again?
There is a rustling in all the tree tops

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[18] This passage is specially significant: in childhood everything came as a gift, and he is unable to attain this state again because it is won only through "effort and compulsion"—even love costs effort. In childhood the spring runs over in bubbling fulness, but in later life it needs a lot of hard work to keep it flowing at all, because the older we get the more it tends to flow back to its source.

[19] *Gedichte*, p. 57. [As trans. in the Hinkle (1916) edn., slightly modified.]

Why do you wake my soul? why stir up
The past in me, ye kindly ones?
Spare me and let them rest. do not mock
The ashes of my joy. Pass on,
Ye fateless gods, let your youthfulness
Flower upon those grown old.
If you would deign to come down to mortals
Young girls will blossom for you,
Young heroes, and sweeter than ever
Morning will play round the cheeks of the happy,
And ravishing sound
The songs of those without care . . .

Ah, once the fountain of song
So easily rushed from my bosom, when heavenly
Joy still shone from my eyes . . .[30]

625 The separation from youth has even taken away the golden glamour of Nature, and the future appears hopeless and empty. But what robs Nature of its glamour, and life of its joy, is the habit of looking back for something that used to be outside, instead of looking inside into the depths of the depressive state. This looking back leads to regression and is the first step along that path. Regression is also an involuntary introversion in so far as the past is an object of memory and therefore a psychic content, an endopsychic factor. It is a relapse into the past caused by a depression in the present. Depression should therefore be regarded as an unconscious compensation whose content must be made conscious if it is to be fully effective. This can only be done by consciously regressing along with the depressive tendency and integrating the memories so activated into the conscious mind—which was what the depression was aiming at in the first place.

Empedocles

You seek life, and a godly fire
Gushes and gleams for you out of the deeps of earth
As, with shuddering longing, you
Hurl yourself down to the flames of Etna.

So by a queen's wanton whim
Pearls were dissolved in wine—heed her not

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[30] Ibid., p. 156.

What folly, O poet, to cast your flames
Into that bright and bubbling cup!

Yet still you are holy to me, as the might of earth
That bore you away, audaciously perishing!
And I would follow the hero to the depths
Did not love hold me.[91]

626 This poem reveals the poet's secret longing for the maternal depths and for the regenerating womb. (Cf. fig. 40.) He would like to be melted like pearls in wine, to be sacrificed in the chalice, the "krater" of rebirth. He longs to imitate Empedocles, of whom Horace says: "Empedocles, eager to be thought a god immortal, coolly leapt into burning Aetna."[92]

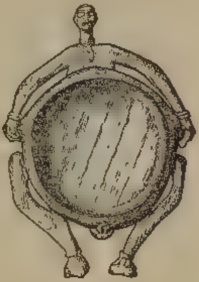

Fig. 40. The womb of the World Mother
Wooden bowl, Congo

627 He wants to go the way of the hero, the ideal figure that floats before him, and to share his fate. Yet love still holds him back in the light of day. The libido still has an object which makes life worth living. If this object were abandoned, then the

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[91] Ibid., p. 143. [Cf. Leishman trans., p. 35.]
[92] *Ars poetica*, trans. by Fairclough, pp. 486–89.

libido would sink down to the subterranean mother for rebirth:

In Memoriam

Daily I go a different path, sometimes
Into the green wood, sometimes to bathe in the spring,
Or to the rock where the roses bloom.
From the top of the hill I look over the land,

Yet nowhere, O lovely one, nowhere in the light do I find you,
And in the breezes my words die away,
The sacred words we once had . . .

Aye, you are far removed, holy countenance!
And the melody of your life is kept from me,
No longer overheard. And where are
The magical songs that once

Soothed my heart with the peace of the heavenly ones?
How long it is, how long! the youth is
Grown old, the earth itself, which then
Smiled upon me, has grown different.

Farewell! each day the soul departs,
Turns back to you, and over you weeps
The eye that with brighter shining
Gazes across again, there where you tarry.[28]

628 This distinctly suggests a renunciation, an envy of one's own youth, of that time of effortlessness which one would so gladly cling on to. But the final stanza portends disaster, a gazing towards the other land, the distant coast of sunrise or sunset. Love no longer holds the poet fast, the bonds with the world are broken, and loudly he calls for help to the mother:

Achilles

Lordly son of the gods! Because you had lost your beloved
You went to the rocky coast and cried aloud to the flood,
Till the depths of the holy abyss heard your voice and echoed your grief
In the stillness, where far from the clamour of ships,
Deep under the waves, in a peaceful cave, the beautiful

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[28] *Gedichte*, p. 157.

The mother is your [illegible] goddess [illegible] of the sea.
Mother she was to the youth, the powerful goddess,
Had once on the rocky shore of his island lovingly
Nursed the boy at her breast, had made him a hero
With the might of her strengthening bath and the powerful song of
  the waves.
And the mother came, hearing the [illegible] of her son,
And rose like a cloud from the depths of the sea,
Quieted with tender embraces the passion of her darling,
And he listened while she, caressing, promised to help him.
Son of the gods! O were I like you, I could confidently
Pour out my secret grief to one of the Heavenly Ones.
This I shall never see, but must bear the disgrace as though I
No more belonged to her who still thinks of me ever with tears.
Beneficent gods who [illegible] men's prayers [illegible]
How rapidly and fervently have I [illegible] holy light,
Since I have lived, the earth and [illegible]
Father Aether, this heart has [illegible]
O soften, ye kind ones, my sorrows, that my soul be not silenced too
  early,
That I may live and thank you, heavenly powers, [illegible]
With joyful song till the last hurrying day,
Thank you for gifts gone by, for the [illegible]
Then take me out of my lone life, graciously to yourselves.[34]

629 These songs describe [illegible] hope [illegible] in plain language the poet's [illegible] increasing estrangement from the [illegible] of the mother. After these nostalgic [illegible] of Patmos bursts upon us like a [illegible] word, a vision [illegible] gathering [illegible] insanity [illegible] the mother [illegible] ideas again [illegible] resurrection of life.

630 I give here some significant fragments from "Patmos":

Near is God
And hard to apprehend
But where danger is, there
Arises salvation also.[35]

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[34] Ibid., p. [illegible]

[35] Ibid., pp. [illegible]ff. [For passages up to par. [illegible], from "Patmos," cf. Hamburger trans., pp. [illegible]ff.]

[illegible] These words show that the [illegible] is now sinking to a depth where [illegible] Mothers. There God [illegible] that the material [illegible] [illegible] the greatest [illegible] [illegible] back [illegible] where the [illegible] [illegible] A person [illegible] [illegible] which [illegible] human [illegible] [illegible] of life [illegible]

[illegible] However [illegible]

In darkness dwe[illegible]
The eagles, and fearless across the abyss
Go the sons of the Alps
On lightly built bridges.

533 With these words the dark fantastic poem sweeps on. The eagle, the sun-bird, dwells in darkness—the sun has hidden itself, but high overhead pass the dwellers in the mountains, probably the gods. They wander above in the light, symbols of the sun travelling across the sky like an eagle flying over the depths.

Therefore, since all around are upheaped
The summits of time,
And those that dwell nearest in love
Must languish on uttermost mountains,
Give us then innocent water,
O pinions give us, to pass
Over with constant minds and again return.

534 The first image is a sombre one of mountains and time, probably called up by the sun wandering over the mountains; the next image, visualizing the simultaneous nearness and separation of the lovers, seems to hint at life in the underworld,[39] where one is united with everything that was dear to one and yet cannot enjoy the happiness of reunion because it is all shadowy, unreal, and devoid of life. There the descending soul drinks the "innocent water," the drink of rebirth,[40] that he may grow wings and soar up again into life, like the winged sun-disc (cf. pls. VI, [illegible]) which rises swan-like from the water.

So I spoke, when swifter
Than I had fancied, and far
Whither I never had thought to come
A Genius bore me away

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[39] Cf. the passage in Odysseus' journey to Hades, where he meets his mother: "As my mother spoke, there came to me out of the confusion in my heart the one desire, to embrace her spirit, dead though she was. Thrice, in my eagerness to clasp her to me, I started forward with my hands outstretched. Thrice, like a shadow or a dream, she slipped through my arms and left me harrowed by an even sharper pain." (Odyssey XI, 204-8, trans. by Rieu, p. 180.)

[40] Spielrein's patient (p. 394), in connection with the significance of the communion, speaks of "water mingled with [illegible]," "spermatic water," "blood and wine." On p. 368 she says: "The souls that fall into the water are saved by God; they fall on deeper ground." Souls are saved by the sun-god. Cf. also the miraculous properties of the alchemical *aqua permanens* (*Psychology and Alchemy*, pars. 94 and 336ff.).

From my house. In the twilight
The shadowy woods darkened as I went
And the yearning brooks of my home;
No more did I know these lands.

635 After the dark and cryptic prelude, which is like a premonition of what is to come, the poet begins the journey to the East, towards the sunrise, towards the mystery of eternity and rebirth, of which Nietzsche also dreams:

O how should I not burn for eternity and for the nuptial ring of rings—the ring of return! Never yet did I find the woman from whom I desired children, unless it be this woman whom I love: for I love thee, O Eternity![28]

636 Hölderlin expresses this same longing in a magnificent image, whose main features we know already:

Yet soon in fresh radiance,
Mysterious
In the golden smoke,
Swiftly sprung up
With the tread of the sun,

Asia bloomed out before me,
Fragrant with a thousand peaks, and dazzled
I sought one that I knew, for I was
A stranger to the broad streets
Where the gold-decked Pactolus
Rushes down from Tmolus,
And Taurus stands and Messogis,
And full of flowers the garden,
A quiet fire. But high in the light
Blossoms the silver snow,
And, witness to life everlasting,
On inaccessible walls
The immemorial ivy[29] grows, and upborne
Upon living columns of cedars and laurels
Are the solemn,
The divinely built palaces.

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[28] *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, "The Seven Seals," trans. by Common, p. 279, modified.

[29] The φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, the "drink of immortality," the haoma of the Persians, may have been made from *Ephedra vulgaris*. Spiegel, *Erânische Altertumskunde*, I, p. 433.

63 The vision is apocalyptic: the mother-city in the land of eternal youth, surrounded by the flowery verdure of imperishable spring.[30] (Cf. pl. XXXa.) The poet identifies himself here with John, who lived on Patmos and consorted with the "Son of the Highest," and saw him face to face:

As at the mystery of the vine
They sat together at the hour of the banquet,
And quietly presentient in his great soul
The Lord spake death and the last love . . .

Thereon he died. Of that
There were much to be said. And the friends saw
How he gazed forth victorious,
The most joyful of all, at the last . . .

Therefore he sent them
The Spirit, and the house
Solemnly trembled
And the storm of God
Rolled far-thundering over their visionary heads,
Where brooding
The heroes of death were assembled,
As he now, in departure,
Once more appeared before them.
For now was put out
The day of the sun, the kingly one,
And himself, divinely suffering,
Shattered the straight-rayed sceptre,
For it shall come again
At the proper time . . .

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[30] Like the heavenly city in Hauptmann's *Hannele* (trans. by Meltzer, pp. 9[illegible]-9[illegible]):

The Realm of Righteousness is filled with light and joy,
God's everlasting peace reigns there without alloy.
Its mansions are marble, its roofs are of gold,
Through its rivulets ripple wines ruddy and old,
In its silver-white streets blow the lily and rose,
In its steeples the chiming of joy-bells grows.
The beautiful butterflies frolic and play
On its ramparts, rich-robed in the mosses of May.
The blessed below in the regions of Light
Wander on, hand in hand, and rejoice in their flight.
In the depths of the radiant, the ruby-red wines,
Swan [illegible] after swan [illegible] plumage [illegible]
So they wash themselves clean in the [illegible] red
Of the blood which the Lord, our dear Saviour, had shed."

408 The underlying images are the sword [illegible] a sun, and resurrection of Christ conceived as the s[illegible] the sun which [illegible] breaks its rays [illegible] sceptre [illegible] of resurrection [illegible] substance of [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] God pierces the earth with his ray. For here the earth was a woman; she also [illegible] the sunbeam [illegible] fashion as some thing [illegible] Jesus Christ has shown me his love by tapping at the window with a sunbeam. I have come across the same idea of the [illegible] substance of the sunbeam [illegible] same patients. That [illegible] which [illegible] the earth and penetrated deep into it may be compared with Kaineus [illegible] the earth the [illegible] for in the fullness of [illegible] again [illegible] from the earth. At the place where Samson threw away the jawbone of the ass the Lord caused a fountain to gush forth. Springs also [illegible] hoofs. Magic wands and sceptres in general come into this category of meanings. Gr. [illegible] is related to [illegible] staff [illegible] [illegible] spear [illegible] Sometimes again we meet in this context [illegible] as [illegible] The breaking of [illegible] the sacrifice of power as previously [illegible] which had been organized in a certain direction.

409 That Hölderlin's poem should pass from Asia to Patmos and thence to the Christian mystery may seem like a superficial association [illegible] it is a [illegible] sign [illegible] train of thought [illegible] as the self-sacrifice [illegible] at a moment [illegible] ity. At this time when the sun has set and he seems extinguished, man [illegible] expecting the renewal of life:

And it was joy
From now on
[illegible] and [illegible]
Steadfast in simple eyes
Abysses of wisdom.

---

[8] Judges 15 : 18.

[9] [illegible]

640 Wisdom dwells in the depths, the wisdom of the mother; being one with her means being granted a vision of deeper things, of the primordial images and primitive forces which underlie all life and are its nourishing, sustaining, creative matrix. Hölderlin, in his pathological ecstasy, senses the grandeur of the things seen, but unlike Faust he does not care to bring into the light of day all that he has found in the depths:

And no evil it is if something
Is lost and the living sound
Fades from our speech,
For heavenly labour is like to our own.
The Highest would not have
All at one time.
So long as the pit bears iron
And Etna fiery resin,
So I have riches
To fashion an image and see
The Spirit[33] as ever it was.

641 What the poet beholds in his Vulcan's pit is, in truth, the "Spirit as ever it was," namely the totality of primary forms from which the archetypal images come. In this world of the collective unconscious spirit appears as an archetype which is endowed with supreme significance and is expressed through the figure of the divine hero, whose counterpart in the West is Christ.

He wakens the dead
Who are not yet bound
By the grossness of death . . .

And if the heavenly ones,
As I believe, so love me . . .

Quiet is his[34] sign
In the thunderous sky. And One stands beneath it
His life long. For Christ lives yet.

642 But, as once Gilgamesh, bringing back the magic herb from the Western Land (cf. pl. XIX), was robbed of his treasure by

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[33] When writing this book I used an old edition of Hölderlin. Modern editions have "Christ" for "Geist." I have retained the old reading, because on the internal evidence of the poem I gathered that it meant Christ even before I saw the modern reading.

[34] I.e., the Father's.

[illegible]

. . . shamefully
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] This re[illegible] that one must give up the retrospective [illegible] which only wants to resuscitate the [illegible] and [illegible] to the poet.

[illegible] I therefore take it as a wise counsel [illegible] the unconscious [illegible] more than [illegible] and infantile [illegible] having [illegible] the power to make good [illegible] from the primeval ocean of the unconscious [illegible] have been [illegible]. Such a sacrifice can only be [illegible] that was [illegible] from the narrower [illegible] because the [illegible] wealth of the [illegible] was a mere parable [illegible] become the [illegible] tread a new system [illegible] a step [illegible] the solution of at least some [illegible] the sexual problem [illegible] in the unconscious [illegible]. We must [illegible] Christ's teaching means [illegible] and we saw [illegible] alone [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] the same [illegible] came a[illegible] [illegible] his relations with his [illegible] his [illegible] lies in his own hands. His [illegible] to M[illegible] [illegible] stars. [illegible] stated [illegible] is the stars [illegible] which every unrecognized [illegible] When the child [illegible] transformed into [illegible] keeps [illegible] corresponding symbols [illegible] where they have no control over themselves and are at the mercy of their [illegible]. That was the [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] at that time was he who sought to free humanity from bondage to Heimarmene.[35]

645 Miss Miller's [illegible] seems at first sight [illegible] the problem of [illegible] as [illegible] but if we examine [illegible] we [illegible] see [illegible] is something that must be a problem [illegible] in general [illegible] the symbols [illegible] the snake that kills the horse and the hero [illegible] tree [illegible] of the unconscious.

646 To the extent that the world and everything in it is a product of thought, the sacrifice of the libido that strives back to the mother necessarily results in the creation of the world. For him who looks backwards the whole world, even the starry sky, becomes the mother who bends over him and enfolds him on all sides, and from the renunciation of this image, and of the longing for it, arises the picture of the world as we know it today. This simple thought is what constitutes the meaning of the cosmic sacrifice. A good example is the slaying of Tiamat (fig. 41), the Babylonian mother-dragon, from whose body heaven and earth were made.[36] But perhaps the fullest expres-

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[35] This was the real purpose of all the mystery religions. They created symbols of death and rebirth (cf. pl. [illegible]). As Frazer points out in *The Golden Bough* (Part III [illegible]), even primitive peoples have in their initiation mysteries the same symbolism of dying and being born again. As Apuleius reveals in connection with the initiation of Lucius into the Isis mysteries (*The Golden Ass*, XI, [illegible], and by Graves, p. [illegible]) [illegible] the very gates of death and salvation [illegible] the [illegible] was permitted [illegible] a voluntary death [illegible] which Lucius was born again [illegible]

[36] From the sacrifice of the dragon in alchemy comes the [illegible] of the philosophers. [illegible] *Psychology and Alchemy*, par. [illegible]

sion of this idea is to be found in Indian philosophy of the oldest date, in the Vedic hymns. The Rig-Veda asks:

> What was the wood, what was the tree,
> From which heaven and earth were hewn?
> Let the sages inquire within their minds.[57]

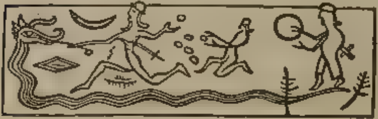

Fig. 41. Marduk fighting Tiamat
Assyrian cylinder seal

647 Vishvakarman, the All-Creator, who made the world from the unknown tree, did so as follows:

> Sacrificing as a wise sacrificer,
> Our Father entered into all these beings;
> Striving for blessings through prayer,
> Hiding his origin, he went into the lower world.
> Yet what and who has served him
> As a resting-place and a support?

648 The Rig-Veda proceeds to answer these questions. Purusha (Man, Anthropos) was the primal being who

> Encompassed the earth on all sides
> And ruled over the ten-finger place
> (the highest point of heaven).[58]

649 Purusha is evidently a sort of Platonic world-soul who surrounds the earth from outside:

> Being born he overtopped the world
> Before, behind, and in all places.

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[57] Rig-Veda X, 81:4. This passage and those in pars. 647 and 649, trans. from Deussen, *Geschichte*, pp. 136 and 156.

[58] Rig-Veda X, 90. This passage, and those in pars. 650, 651, 656, trans. by W. Norman Brown, in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LI (1931).

650 As the all-encompassing world-soul, Purusha has a maternal character, for he represents the original "dawn state" of the psyche: he is the encompasser and the encompassed, mother and unborn child, an undifferentiated, unconscious state of primal being. As such a condition must be terminated, and as it is at the same time an object of regressive longing, it must be sacrificed in order that discriminated entities—i.e., conscious contents—may come into being.

> Him, Purusha, born in the beginning, they besprinkled on the straw; the gods sacrificed with him, as did the saints and the sages.

651 The passage is very remarkable. If one attempted to put this mythologem on the Procrustean bed of logic, some violence would be done to it. How ordinary sages come to be sacrificing the primal being side by side with the gods is an utterly fantastic conception, quite apart from the fact that in the beginning, i.e., before the sacrifice, nothing existed except the primal being. But if this primal being means the great mystery of the original psychic state, then everything becomes clear:

> From that sacrifice when it was fully offered, the speckled, clotted butter was collected; it constituted the birds and the wild and domestic animals.
>
> From that sacrifice when it was fully offered the hymns were born and the chants; the metres were born from it, and from it the prose formula was born. . . .
>
> The moon was born from his mind; from his eye was born the sun; from his mouth Indra and Agni; from his breath Vayu was born.
>
> From his navel grew the atmosphere; from his head the sky; from his feet the earth; from his ear the directions. Thus the worlds are made.

652 It is evident that by this is meant not a physical but a psychological cosmogony. The world comes into being when man discovers it. But he only discovers it when he sacrifices his containment in the primal mother, the original state of unconsciousness. What drives him towards this discovery is conceived by Freud as the "incest barrier." The incest prohibition blocks the infantile longing for the mother and forces the libido along the path of life's biological aim. The libido, driven back from the mother by the incest prohibition, seeks a sexual object in

[illegible] most useful [illegible] the first [illegible] are [illegible] in this sense that we have to [illegible] began with we know as sexual objects.[48] This statement is no more than a sexual [illegible] as when one speaks of [illegible] and female electrical [illegible] screws [illegible] to read the [illegible] are [illegible] Freud's view is [illegible] if we take it [illegible] to say that at a much earlier stage we knew [illegible] the infant [illegible] is a sexual pleasure [illegible] pleasure can have many other sources. Presexual [illegible] as much pleasure [illegible] eating even [illegible] sexual [illegible] whatever and the food [illegible] from the sex [illegible] what a later sexual stage may make of these earlier activities. Kissing, for instance, derives far more from the act of nutrition than from sexuality. Moreover the so-called incest barrier is an exceedingly doubtful hypothesis, admirable as it is for describing certain neurotic conditions, because it is a product of culture which nobody invented and which grew up naturally on the basis of complex biological necessities connected with the development of marriage classes. The main purpose of these is not to prevent incest but to meet the social danger of endogamy by instituting the cross-cousin marriage. The typical marriage with the daughter of the maternal uncle [illegible] dictated by the same libido which could equally well possess the mother or the sister. So it is not a question of avoiding incest, for which [illegible] there are [illegible] frequent [illegible] but of the social necessity to spread the family organization throughout the whole tribe.[49]

659 Therefore it cannot have been the incest taboo that forced mankind out of the original psychological state [illegible]. On the contrary, it was the [illegible] instinct peculiar to man which distinguishes him [illegible] from all other animals

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[48] "The Dynamics of the Transference," p. 105.

[49] Cf. my "Psychology of the Transference," pars. 438ff., and Layard, "The Incest Taboo and the Virgin Archetype," pp. 254ff.

[illegible]

654 [illegible]

[illegible] passive here [illegible] Jesus's and Peter's [illegible] their [illegible] the unconscious [illegible] it may [illegible] fast. But [illegible]

645 [illegible] types which have a compensatory [illegible] as has [illegible] the [illegible] Thus leads [illegible] the [illegible]

646 After this digression let us turn back to the verse from the Rig-Veda [illegible] is a work of far greater [illegible] as [illegible] the Christian mystery:

> With the sacrifice the gods sacrificed to the sacrifice. These were the first ordinances. These powers, rising [illegible] from the [illegible] reached the sky where are the [illegible] and the gods.[43]

647 Sa[illegible] of [illegible] to the power of [illegible] the [illegible] Brihadaranyaka Upanishad:

Om!

> Verily, the dawn is the head of the sacrificial horse, the sun his eye, the wind his breath, the universal fire his open mouth. The year is the

[43] Trans. by W. Norman Brown.

body of the sacrificial horse. The sky is his back; the atmosphere, his belly; the earth, the underpart of his belly; the quarters, his flanks; the intermediate quarters, his ribs; the seasons, his limbs; the months and half-months, his joints; days and nights, his feet; the stars, his bones; the clouds, his flesh. Sand is the food in his stomach; rivers are his entrails. His liver and lungs are the mountains; plants and trees, his hair. The rising sun is his forepart, the setting sun his hindpart. When he yawns, then it lightens. When he shakes himself, then it thunders. When he urinates, then it rains. His voice is speech.

"Verily, Day was created for the horse as the sacrificial dish which stands before. Its place is the world-ocean towards the east. Night was created for the horse as the sacrificial dish which stands behind. Its place is the world-ocean towards the west. Verily, these two came into being around the horse on both sides as the two sacrificial vessels.

"As a steed he carried the gods, as a charger the Gandharvas, as a racer the demons, as a horse men. The ocean is his kinsman, the sea his cradle."[42]

658 As Deussen remarks, the horse sacrifice signifies a renunciation of the world. When the horse is sacrificed, the world is sacrificed and destroyed, as it were—an idea that also occurred to Schopenhauer. The horse stands between two sacrificial vessels, passing from one to the other, just as the sun passes from morning to evening. (Cf. fig. [illegible].) Since the horse is man's steed and works for him, and energy is even measured in terms of horse-power, the horse signifies a quantum of energy that stands at man's disposal. It therefore represents the libido which has passed into the world. We saw earlier on that the mother-libido must be sacrificed in order to create the world; here the world is destroyed by renewed sacrifice of the same libido, which once belonged to the mother and then passed into the world. The horse, therefore, may reasonably be postulated as a symbol for this libido because, as we saw, it has numerous connections with the mother.[43] The sacrifice of the horse can only produce another phase of introversion similar to that which

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[42] Trans. by Hume, *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, pp. 73f., modified.

[43] The Bundahish, XIX, 13, says that the bull Sarsaok will be sacrificed at the end of the world. Sarsaok helped to disseminate the human race, for nine of the fifteen races rode on his back through the sea to the most distant parts of the earth. The primordial bull of Gayomart has, as we saw earlier, a maternal significance on account of his fertility.

[illegible] the horse between [illegible] the [illegible] the horse. [illegible] the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad [illegible]: "Where [illegible] the offerers of the horse sacrifice go?")

"What has become of the Parikshitas? I ask you, Yajnavalkya, what has become of the Parikshitas?"

"Yajnavalkya said: [illegible] they have gone whither the offerers of the horse sacrifice go."

"And where [illegible] the offerers of the horse sacrifice go?"

"[illegible] of the sun-god's [illegible]. The earth, which is twice as broad, surrounds it on all sides. The [illegible], which is twice as broad, surrounds the earth on all sides. There[66] is a gap as broad as the edge of a razor or the wing of a mosquito. [illegible] taking the [illegible] delivered the Parikshitas to the wind, and the wind took them and [illegible] them to the place where the offerers of the horse sacrifice were.

"Therefore [illegible] the [illegible] and the most [illegible]. He who knows this wards off repeated death."[67]

559 As the text says, the offerers of the horse sacrifice go to that narrowest [illegible] the [illegible] where they are at once united and [illegible]. Indra, who [illegible] the form of a falcon, [illegible] is the [illegible] the wind to the generating pneuma [illegible] universal [illegible] the breath.[68] [illegible] It is one of the [illegible] and is at the same time [illegible] in a certain sense [illegible] more [illegible] united [illegible]. [illegible] the first [illegible] is the

---

[66] [illegible] where he [illegible] a narrow crack [illegible] with Brahman takes place."

[67] [illegible]

[68] [illegible] there is [illegible] agreement between his view and mine.

horse, the animal brother of the hero, corresponding to the early death of the half-human Enkidu, friend and brother of Gilgamesh. His sacrificial death belongs to the whole category of animal sacrifices in mythology. The victim in a sacrifice where it has lost its original meaning as an offering of food has taken on a higher religious significance as an intimate relationship to the hero or god. The animal represents the god himself; thus the bull represents Dionysus Zagreus and Mithras, the

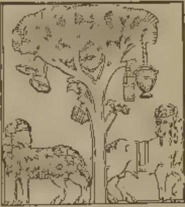

Fig. 42. The sacred tree of Attis
Relief from an altar to Cybele

lamb Christ, etc.[48] The sacrifice of the animal means, therefore, the sacrifice of the animal nature, the instinctual libido. This is expressed most clearly in the cult legend of Attis. Attis was the son-lover of Agdistis-Cybele, the mother of the gods. Driven mad by his mother's insane love for him, he castrated himself under a pine-tree. The pine-tree played an important part in his cult (fig. 42). Every year a pine-tree was decked with garlands, an effigy of Attis was hung upon it, and then it was cut down. Cybele then took the pine-tree into her cave and lamented over it. The tree obviously signifies the son—according to one version Attis was actually changed into a pine-tree—whom the mother takes back into her "cave," i.e., her maternal womb. At the same time the tree also has a maternal significance, since the [illegible] of the son or his [illegible] the tree represents the union of mother and son. Common [illegible] expresses the same image [illegible]. Again the feeling [illegible] the parallel [illegible] castration and has a direct [illegible], in that case the tree would have more of a phallic meaning. But since the tree is primarily a symbol of the mother, its felling has the significance of a mother-sacrifice. These ultimate [illegible] can only be disentangled if we reduce them to a common denominator. This denominator is the libido: the son personifies the longing for the mother, which exists in the psyche of every individual who finds himself in a similar situation. The mother personifies the [illegible] the son. The tree personifies the mother on one side and [illegible] on the other. The [illegible] turn [illegible]. The [illegible] of the [illegible] castration [illegible] something, that is, as [illegible] as it is impossible [illegible] between the arrangement and [illegible] of the [illegible] expression that is [illegible] unconscious. At the same time the [illegible] as in a dream. That [illegible] the [illegible] and tendencies [illegible]. The [illegible] which [illegible] is its [illegible] that certain attributes or [illegible] may easily pass from one [illegible] to the [illegible], a fact which does not [illegible] to the understanding, but vastly complicates the task of [illegible] exposition.

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[48] The following interesting Sumerian [illegible] fragment of [illegible] *[illegible]* I, [illegible] comes from the library of Assurbanipal: [illegible] the wise man he said: A lamb is a substitute for a man. He gives the lamb for his life; he gives the head of a lamb for the head of a man.

660 The impulse to sacrifice proceeds in the above instance from the mother, who [illegible] the son [illegible] manliness and [illegible]. As a general rule the mother represents the unconscious, hence the implication is that the impulse to sacrifice comes from the unconscious. This is to be understood in the sense that regression [illegible] of the conscious [illegible] of the personality [illegible] suppression [illegible]. It [illegible] conscious experiences in most cases

[illegible]

[illegible] the name of Dionysus [illegible]

> "Grata deum matri, siquidem Cybele ut Atys
> Exuit hac hominem, truncoque induruit illo."

[illegible]

[illegible] Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. "Attis," I, 722, 10.

[illegible] (ie of the tree).

[illegible]

[illegible] Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. "Dionysus," I, 1054, 56.

priests [illegible] cult were eunuchs and were called [illegible] [illegible] feminine divinity.

[illegible] Ichthys." [illegible] Cf. Frobenius, *Zeitalter*, passim.

[illegible] Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, II, p. 76

665 Like the [illegible] have [illegible] in Chapter [illegible] phrase [illegible]" [illegible] The [illegible] is [illegible] all [illegible] The B[illegible] says [illegible] in the [illegible] This sacrifice [illegible] sacrifice [illegible] spirits are the [illegible] kitchens grew out of this pre- [illegible] the fire [illegible] and the [illegible]

666 From the [illegible] as well as [illegible] M[illegible][62] [illegible] in art [illegible] care [illegible] of Zarathustra [illegible] Resurrection [illegible] Satan [illegible] says that [illegible] see,[63] [illegible] Z[illegible] may be [illegible] M[illegible][64] [illegible] M[illegible] Mithras [illegible] man.'

667 In the case of Zarathustra we saw [illegible] is as it were [illegible] and thus symbol[illegible] This inner par[illegible] perfectly expressed in the [illegible] of the bull's [illegible] Mithras [illegible] slays [illegible]

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[60] Sage, Der [illegible]

[61] Spiegel, I, p. 510.

[62] Spiegel, [illegible] West trans. [illegible] *Khorda*, xxvii, 15 (p. 157).

[63] Spiegel, [illegible] II, p. [illegible]

[64] Ibid., I, p. 708.

[65] Porphyry (*De antro nympharum*, 24, in Taylor trans., p. 190) says: "For Mithras, as well as the bull, is the demiurge and lord of generation." (Cited in Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, p. 72.)

[illegible] Rome [illegible] Mithras.

[illegible]

666 [illegible] expression [illegible] Dadophors.

[illegible] which can be seen [illegible] expression of sorrow to the face.[64]

667 [illegible]

668 [illegible] very far apart [illegible] between the [illegible] centuries of our era. [illegible] expression [illegible] and [illegible] the same [illegible] Nevertheless, it [illegible] animal [illegible] Mithras [illegible] analogy to the course of the sun.

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[63] [illegible] and [illegible] Mithras [illegible] in the [illegible] Taurus aetern.

[64] [illegible] Schone [illegible]

[65] [illegible] In another passage [illegible] speaks [illegible] an almost morbid grace of the hero's features."

[66] [illegible]

[67] [illegible]

669 We have learned in the course of this investigation that the libido which builds up religious structures regresses in the last analysis to the mother, and thus represents the real bond through which we are connected with our origins. When the Church Fathers derive the word *religio* from *religare* (to reconnect, link back), they could at least have appealed to this psychological fact in support of their view.[72] As we have seen, this regressive libido clothes itself in countless symbols of the most heterogeneous nature, some masculine and some feminine—differences which are at root secondary and not nearly so important as would appear at first sight. The essential and underlying fact of the sacrificial drama consists in an unconscious transformation of energy, of which the ego becomes aware in much the same way as sailors are made aware of a volcanic upheaval under the sea. Of course, when we consider the beauty and sublimity of the whole conception of sacrifice and the solemnity of its ritual, it must be admitted that a psychological formulation has a shockingly sobering effect. The dramatic concreteness of the sacrificial act is reduced to a barren abstraction, and the flourishing life of the figures is flattened out into two-dimensionality. Scientific understanding is bound, unfortunately, to have regrettable effects—on one side; on the other side abstraction makes for a deepened understanding of the phenomena in question. Thus we come to realize that the figures in the mythical drama possess qualities that are interchangeable, because they do not have the same "existential" meaning as the concrete figures [illegible]. The latter suffer real tragedy, perhaps, in the real sense, whereas the others

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[illegible] here [illegible] the Manu [illegible] view was [illegible] was [illegible] the [illegible] Abraham [illegible] in place of his own [illegible] p. 42.

[illegible] through again [illegible] the nature [illegible] this link of [illegible] Similarly [illegible] and [illegible] See [illegible] p. 433 [illegible] The [illegible] between [illegible] and [illegible] ago.

[illegible] were [illegible] that the [illegible] what sort of an animal is sacrificed [illegible] whose contents and [illegible] the skins of their human victims.

670 [illegible] that it gives [illegible] One [illegible] that whenever writers [illegible] are presenting to express [illegible] that the unconscious is power and not [illegible] than [illegible] The only certain thing [illegible]

671 [illegible] perhaps [illegible] love. In order to [illegible] was [illegible] contemporaries [illegible] Here a [illegible] animal is sacrificed.

[illegible] be regarded in new form. [illegible]

[illegible] ing that the process [illegible] sacrificed and renewed [illegible] [illegible] sacrificial [illegible] [illegible] krater [illegible] [illegible] krater swallows [illegible] the snake [illegible] and resistance and the lion [illegible] the snake [illegible] always assists at the [illegible] flowing from the wound. [illegible] the sharks in the [illegible] and we saw [illegible] the snake [illegible] the hero, when [illegible] back [illegible] the snake [illegible]

[illegible]

status [illegible] blood and the snake [illegible] and the [illegible] and snake [illegible] same thing. This is [illegible] primitive level among the Australian [illegible] we meet with [illegible] and must therefore be [illegible]. Wherever such an [illegible] occurs [illegible] performed. There are an infinite number of these [illegible] the Mithraic [illegible] is a sacrifice [illegible] Mother [illegible] from the [illegible] towards. Since this [illegible] without [illegible] in a water [illegible]. In the [illegible] tions in the [illegible] like the [illegible] have [illegible] representatives [illegible] mother [illegible] the [illegible] as Attis [illegible] effigy was hung on the pine tree [illegible] Christ hanging on the tree of life [illegible] the wooden mother [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] from death. By entering again into the womb of the mother [illegible]

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[70] The end of Prometheus [illegible] a similar [illegible] he was chained [illegible] In another [illegible] Prometheus [illegible] Prometheus [illegible] Abraham [illegible] The [illegible]

[illegible] passion in death,[illegible] for the sin [illegible] Adam committed [illegible] deed [illegible] generations on a spiritual level, the [illegible] St. Augustine, as we [illegible] Christ's death as [illegible] the feast of [illegible] where Venus and Adonis were [illegible]

Like a bridegroom Christ went forth from his chamber, he went out with a presage of his nuptials into the field of the world. . . . He came to the marriage-bed of the cross, and there, in mounting it, he consummated his marriage. And when he perceived the sighs of the [illegible] he gave [illegible] up [illegible] in place of his bride [illegible] for ever.[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] St. Augustine [illegible] means the [illegible] lamb. The treasure [illegible] moment [illegible] of the [illegible] and [illegible]. What was [illegible] of the [illegible] feminine [illegible] no longer [illegible] but on a [illegible] his [illegible] this [illegible] the transcendent [illegible] process. [illegible] of the [illegible] has a [illegible] effect.[28]

[illegible] Comparison between the Mithraic and the Christian sacrifice shows [illegible] where the superiority of the Christian symbol lies: [illegible] that not only has

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[27] The spear wound [illegible] Longinus takes the place of the dagger [illegible] of the [illegible] wedge was [illegible] were pierced by the spear, Adonis was killed by the boar's tusk.

[28] [illegible]

[29] The same idea [illegible] of the [illegible] knowledge [illegible] gave his [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] by the [illegible] to be seen [illegible] which is more than can be [illegible] Whereas the lower [illegible] to the low [illegible] has that [illegible] merely [illegible] to elevate [illegible] is known as the [illegible] na- ture [illegible] develop- [illegible] possible [illegible] at all. The dead [illegible] and apparently [illegible] [illegible] consciousness [illegible]

[illegible] and [illegible] Yet it is pre- [illegible] whether [illegible] way and [illegible] will show [illegible] that [illegible] pos- [illegible] the [illegible] impossible [illegible] the self [illegible] Whereas [illegible] and [illegible] ing the instinctual man,[80] the Christian [illegible] of sacrifice is symbolized by the death of a human being, and demands a surrender of the whole man. It [illegible] a taming of his animal instincts, but a [illegible] renunciation of them and also of his specifically human spiritual functions for the sake of a spiritual goal beyond this world. This [illegible] help [illegible] man [illegible] own nature and to a large degree from nature in general. The [illegible] as history has shown, was entirely possible, and led in the course of a few centuries to a development of consciousness which would have been [illegible] of [illegible] without this training. Developments of this kind are not arbitrary inventions or mere intellectual fantasies; they have their own inner logic and necessity. The barrage of materialistic criticism that has been directed against the "physical impossibilities" of dogma ever since the age of enlightenment is completely beside the point. Dogma must be a physical impossibility, for it has nothing whatever to say about the physical world but is a symbol of transcendental or unconscious processes which, so far as psychology can understand them at all, seem to be bound up with the unavoidable development of consciousness. Belief in dogma is an equally unavoidable stopgap which must sooner or later be replaced by adequate understanding and knowledge if our civilization is to continue.

675 In Miss Miller's fantasy, too, there is an inner necessity that [illegible] to go on from the horse sacrifice to the self-sacrifice of the hero. Whereas the former [illegible] the renunciation of [illegible] drives, the latter has the deeper and ethically more valuable meaning of a human sacrifice, a renunciation of [illegible]. In her case, of course, this is [illegible] in a [illegible] sense, since it is [illegible] the story [illegible] wants [illegible] and [illegible] sacrificed. The moral [illegible] is delegated to the hero, while Miss Miller only looks on [illegible] and applauds him [illegible] seems [illegible] that [illegible] what she herself [illegible]. The advance from the animal sacrifice to the human sacrifice is [illegible] only an idea, and when Miss Miller plays [illegible] a passive spectator

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[80] Mithraism was the religion of the Roman legionaries and admitted only men as initiates.

of this peculiar sacrificial act. Her participation is not unlike that of a [illegible]. As is usual in such cases, she is always unconscious of what it means when she enters the [illegible] of the [illegible] perpetuates. When this happens the [illegible] falls away and [illegible] upon the personal ego and the dreamer [illegible] the drama which [illegible] to an end [illegible] to predict. Not in the case of Miss Miller [illegible] significance of her personal [illegible] it would be a [illegible]. It was in fact a [illegible] the positive [illegible] to the [illegible] would [illegible] similar to the one that overtook her hero.

676 [illegible] is linked with the snake. We have already found abundant evidence for the snake as an instrument of sacrifice [illegible] Ra and [illegible]. It is the knife that kills, but also the phallus as symbol of the regenerative power of the grain, which, buried in the earth like a corpse, is at the same time the inseminator of the earth. [illegible] The snake [illegible] the numen of the transformative act as well as the transformative substance itself, as is [illegible] clear in alchemy. As the chthonic dweller in the cave she lives in the womb of mother earth, like the Kundalini serpent who lies coiled in the abdominal cavity at the base of the spine. [illegible] has the legend of [illegible] and [illegible]. Both sisters [illegible] and [illegible] were swallowed into [illegible] the sea snake, the serpent [illegible].[45] Such fantasies are not uncommon among patients. [illegible] she had the [illegible] that she was a snake which wound itself round her mother and [illegible].[46]

677 The snake [illegible]. So was the snake of an [illegible] patient who said: [illegible] snake came up to my mouth [illegible] and the finest, loveliest feeling as if

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[45] [illegible]

[46] The Psychology of Dementia Praecox, par. [illegible]

it had human reason and [illegible] tell the [illegible] just as if it wanted to kiss me." Spielrein's patient said of her snake: "It is God's [illegible] it has such [illegible] colours, green [illegible] and white. [illegible] is green; it is very dangerous. . . . The snake can have a human [illegible] can have divine judgment, it is a [illegible] I would save the children who are [illegible] human life."[45] The [illegible] of the snake as a [illegible] is unmistakable. (Cf. fig. 37.)

678 As the [illegible] is the [illegible] so the snake is the sister of Chiwantopel [illegible] sister. Rider [illegible] form a [illegible] man[46] [illegible] and [illegible] power [illegible] and [illegible] In the same way the [illegible] belongs to man as his [illegible] what I have [illegible] in [illegible] in the form of a snake. Green, the [illegible] very well [illegible] the Creator Spiritus. I have defined the [illegible] as [illegible][55] Here the [illegible] of the snake [illegible] of as having [illegible] This [illegible] contrary [illegible] as long as [illegible] from the [illegible] We [illegible] different [illegible] wise [illegible] man [illegible] from [illegible] as an archetype [illegible] The [illegible] Brown [illegible] examples are to be found in the novels of Rider Haggard.

679 When Chiwantopel [illegible] the snake [illegible] sister [illegible] not [illegible] for Miss Miller [illegible] her [illegible] her [illegible] lover [illegible] When the hero and his [illegible] the [illegible] the same fate as Chiwantopel [illegible]

680 [illegible] the green horse and snake [illegible] snake

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[54] Spielrein, p. 3[illegible].

[55] [illegible] of Chiwantopel [illegible]

[56] See [illegible] of the [illegible] par. [illegible]

top, when a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] a striving towards [illegible] at the same time.[84] It is as [illegible] [illegible] were [illegible] [illegible] towards [illegible] [illegible] will [illegible] [illegible] such as Schopenhauer envisaged [illegible]. Whereas death is a mishap or [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] with its own [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the second half [illegible] at first and [illegible] never [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. And just as [illegible] [illegible] boundless expansion [illegible] broken [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] an obstinate and purposeless craving [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the nature of [illegible] [illegible] a statue of P[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Verona [illegible] [illegible] snake [illegible] points [illegible].[85]

681 A similar motif is to be found in a Rubens, *The Last Judgment*, [illegible] a man is being castrated by a serpent [illegible] [illegible] the meaning [illegible] [illegible] world conflagration [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Rubens [illegible] [illegible] the devouring [illegible] that devours [illegible] [illegible] power [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] snake [illegible] makes itself [illegible]. The snake plays an important role in dreams as a [illegible] because it

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[84] [illegible]

[85] [illegible]

[86] [illegible] destroyer

its profound stress [illegible] an early symptom of psychical disease. As [illegible] it expresses an [illegible] towards [illegible] the personal [illegible] associated therewith. Interpretation [illegible] as a vision of individual circumstances and must be [illegible] life and fear of death. In the case of Miss Miller the fatal sign [illegible] of the [illegible] in the [illegible] of subsequent events. But it is not so easy to say what was the real cause of the unconscious [illegible] the sequel. [illegible] necessary [illegible] I can only say that I [illegible] and a spiritual [illegible] of Miss Miller [illegible] a case of [illegible] have been [illegible] from the [illegible] as I have often observed. [illegible] cases such as this [illegible] a matter of life and death.

[illegible] As at the beginning of our investigation the name of the hero [illegible] part of the [illegible] at the end of the Miller drama we again have an opportunity to see how the [illegible] assists at the [illegible] by means of an [illegible] swallows him back again. We [illegible] last words that the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]. In this name we hear once more those sweet [illegible] already known to us from the lullaby of Hiawatha: wa-wa, wawa, wawa. [illegible] understands us is the mother [illegible] understand. OHG. *firstân* may be derived from a primitive Germanic prefix *fri-*, which is identical with περί, "round about." The OHG. *antfristôn*, "to interpret," is considered to be identical with *firstân*. Hence the fundamental meaning of *verstehen* would be "to stand round about something."[89] *Comprehendere* and καταλαμβάνειν both express an image similar to the German *erfassen*, "to grasp, comprehend." The factor common to all these terms is the idea of surrounding, embracing. And there is no doubt at all that nothing in the world ever embraces us so completely as the mother. When the neurotic complains that the world does not understand him, he is telling us in a word that he wants his mother. Paul Verlaine has given beautiful expression to this thought in his poem "Mon Rêve familier":

Je fais souvent ce rêve étrange et pénétrant
D'une femme inconnue, et que j'aime, et qui m'aime,
Et qui n'est, chaque fois, ni tout à fait la même
Ni tout à fait une autre, et m'aime et me comprend.
  Car elle me comprend, et mon cœur transparent
Pour elle seule, hélas! cesse d'être un problème
Pour elle seule, et les moiteurs de mon front blême,
Elle seule les sait rafraîchir, en pleurant.
  Est-elle brune, blonde ou rousse? Je l'ignore.
Son nom? Je me souviens qu'il est doux et sonore
Comme ceux des aimés que la Vie exila.
  Son regard est pareil au regard des statues,
Et pour sa voix, lointaine, et calme, et grave, elle a
L'inflexion des voix chères qui se sont tues.[90]

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[89] Kluge, *Wörterbuch*.

[90] *Poèmes saturniens*, 1866.

IX

EPILOGUE

[illegible]

[illegible]

ology, embryology, and comparative evolution. Neurotic dissociations can up to a point be remedied with the help of purely personalistic psychology, but not the problem of transference, which crops up in the majority of cases and always hides collective contents.

683 The Miller case is a classic example of the unconscious manifestations which precede a serious psychic disorder. Their presence does not by any means prove that a disorder of this kind is bound to occur. This, as I have already said, depends among other things on whether the conscious attitude towards them is positive or negative. The Miller case suited my book very well because I had nothing to do with it personally and could thus refute the oft-repeated charge that I had influenced the patient. Had the case come up for treatment at the very first signs of spontaneous fantasy creations, the later episode of Chiwantopel, for instance, might have taken a very different turn and the end, so we will hope, would have been less calamitous.

684 With these remarks we come to the end of our programme. We set ourselves the task of analysing an individual fantasy system, [illegible] and in the course of our inquiry have strayed into problems of such enormous proportions that our attempts to understand them in their scope and complexity cannot of necessity amount to much more than a superficial survey. I do not take kindly to the argument that because a certain working hypotheses may not possess eternal validity and may possibly be erroneous they must be withheld from the public. Certainly I have done my best to guard against error, which can be particularly pernicious on such treacherous ground, by keeping myself fully conscious of the dangers that beset any investigation of this kind. We doctors are not so happily placed as research workers in other fields. We cannot choose our assignment or mark off the territory to be investigated. For the sick man who comes to us for treatment confronts us with unforeseeable problems and expects us to fulfil a therapeutic task for which we cannot but feel inadequate. The strongest incentive to increasing research has always come to me from my practice and it consisted in the simple question which no man can ignore: How can you treat something that you do not under-

stand. Dreams, visions, fantasies, and delusions are expressive of a situation. If I do not understand the dreams, neither do I understand the situation of the patient, and of what use is my treatment then? It was never my intention to justify my theories by my patients; it seemed to me far more important to understand their situation in all its aspects, which naturally include the compensatory activity of the unconscious. Such was the case with Miss Miller. I have tried to understand her situation to the best of my ability and have set down the results of my efforts as an example of the nature and extent of the problems about which any doctor who wants to practise psychotherapy should have scientific knowledge. He needs a science of the psyche, not a theory about it. I do not regard the pursuit of science as a bickering about who is right, but as an endeavour to augment and deepen human knowledge. The present work is addressed to those who think and feel about science in the same way.

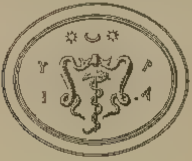

Fig. 45. Antique cameo

APPENDIX·

THE MILLER FANTASIES

[Translated from "Quelques faits d'imagination créatrice subconsciente," in *Archives de psychologie* (Geneva), V (1906), 36–51. The article contains an introduction of five pages signed by Théodore Flournoy, which is not translated here. In it Flournoy speaks of the Miller material as a "traduction"; it is therefore evident that Miss Miller wrote her memoir in English and it was translated by Flournoy into French. Flournoy describes her as "a young American who studied for a semester at our [Geneva] university and who today pursues a distinguished career as a journalist and lecturer in the United States." The original of the Miller memoir has never come to light, and accordingly a double translation has been necessary both in the present edition and in the Hinkle translation of 1916, where, however, the full Miller text was not given, as here. Professor Jung based his study on the French version, and therefore certain words and phrases that he considered of special point are here given in French in brackets. Likewise indication is given of words and passages that the Flournoy publication left in English.

—EDITORS.]

[illegible] New York [illegible]

—EDITORS (1974)]

SOME INSTANCES OF SUBCONSCIOUS CREATIVE IMAGINATION

by Miss Frank Miller
of New York

1. Phenomena of Transitory Suggestion or of Instantaneous Autosuggestion

What I mean by this, in default of a better term, is a curious phenomenon that I have observed in myself and that occurs in different forms. It consists in this, that at certain moments and for a few seconds only, the impressions or feelings of another person are so strongly suggested to me that they seem to be mine, although, as soon as the suggestion is over, I am perfectly sure that this was not the case. Here are some examples:

1. I am passionately fond of caviar, the odour and taste of which are, on the contrary, very repellent to certain members of my family. But if one of them, just as I am about to eat it, begins to express her disgust, this disgust is at once suggested to me so clearly that, for a few moments, I feel complete repugnance for the smell and the taste of caviar. It takes, however, only a minute's effort for me to dispel this impression and to find the caviar as delectable as ever.

2. Here, on the other hand, is an example of the transmission of a pleasing impression. There are certain perfumes and essences that affect me disagreeably because they smell too strong, so much so as to give me nausea and make me almost ill. Yet if a lady begins to smell her eau-de-Cologne, recommending it to me for its strength and exquisite perfume, her pleasure for an instant becomes mine, probably not for more than three to five seconds, after which it disappears and gives place to my usual aversion to strong odours. It is much easier for me, it seems, to

dreams for agreeable successions and return to my real feeling of distaste than to do the reverse.

When I am following a story with great interest, either [illegible] I often have the illusion which may last [illegible] a moment, of really taking part in the action, instead of [illegible]. This is especially marked at the [illegible] for example, performances by Sarah Bernhardt. [illegible] scenes [illegible] Constantine [illegible] and Sarah Bernhardt throws herself upon him [illegible] of his sword. I have [illegible] a real [illegible] [illegible] last a minute, or a second.

4. Some memory images sometimes take on very [illegible] imagination [illegible] and [illegible] I have [illegible] of crossing the Atlantic. [illegible] a beautiful photograph [illegible] an instant [illegible] was of an [illegible] the waves [illegible] It can hardly have lasted more than a second [illegible] that it was as though I were once more at sea. The same phenomenon recurred [illegible] less clearly, on seeing the same photograph again some days later.

5. Here is an example proceeding evidently from creative fantasy. One day when I was taking a bath and was preparing to [illegible] I was [illegible] a towel round my head to protect my hair from the water. The towel [illegible] material had taken a [illegible] shape and I was standing in front of a mirror [illegible]. This conical form was no doubt a striking reminder of the pointed headdress of the ancient [illegible]. Be that as it may, it seemed to me, for one moment [illegible] with an almost breath-taking clarity, that I was [illegible] a [illegible] Egyptian statue with all its details [illegible] the foot forward [illegible] my hands [illegible]. The [illegible] was superb and it was with regret that I felt the impression fading away like a rainbow [illegible] a rainbow [illegible] it returned again faintly before it disappeared altogether.

6 Yet another phenomenon. An [illegible] very much [illegible] this manner I have my own [illegible] ever I [illegible] of Lake Geneva, where [illegible] ten that I [illegible] make [illegible] and gave him [illegible] never [illegible] I was [illegible] as [illegible] as an [illegible]

I do not attach much importance to the various [illegible] I have just described: they [illegible] that all persons with a [illegible] who react with a lively sympathy [illegible] experience analogous phenomena. I [illegible] be of much consequence in themselves [illegible] to understand other things, less elementary. I [illegible] sympathetic [illegible] persons whose [illegible] the creation or the possibility of such [illegible] images and impressions. Now it may [illegible] be that [illegible] conditions [illegible] one knows may [illegible] over [illegible] dazzling and splendid as a rainbow and yet as [illegible] origin and cause? For surely these purer [illegible] experiences I mean the least [illegible] everyday course of life as a rainbow [illegible] sky.

The aim of the few preceding observations is to serve as an introduction [illegible] which in their turn seem to me [illegible] ing to me even more complex and mystifying [illegible] perienced by other persons who are [illegible] because they are unable or unwilling [illegible] working [illegible]

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[4] [In English in Flournoy's publication.]

II. "GLORY TO GOD" A DREAM POEM

1 Once [illegible] during [illegible] more [illegible] on the voyage from Odessa to Genoa [illegible] with [illegible] but entrancing landings at Constantinople, Smyrna, Athens, at the ports of Sicily and the west coast of Italy. [illegible] Once it was [illegible] I [illegible] stare [illegible] feeling, not to be carried away with admiration [illegible] or [illegible] to spend with all one's soul [illegible] remembrance of the past [illegible]. [illegible] It was the voyage [illegible] I was privileged to [illegible] at the age of twenty, with my family, in 1898.

After the long and [illegible] from New York to Stockholm [illegible] to St. Petersburg and Odessa, it was a real pleasure [illegible] the world [illegible] streets, of business [illegible] of the earth [illegible] the world of waves, sky, and [illegible]. I spent hours [illegible] on the deck of the ship, dreaming, stretched out in a deck chair. All the [illegible] of the different [illegible] I saw [illegible] the [illegible] came back to me [illegible] dissolved in a kind of [illegible] in which real things seemed to lose their being [illegible] dreams and [illegible] took on the aspect of the only true reality. At first I even avoided all company and kept to myself lost in my reveries, where everything I had ever known that was truly great, beautiful, and good came back to me, with renewed [illegible]. I [illegible] spent [illegible] of the [illegible] poetry [illegible] the various places we visited. Some of these poems were [illegible]. [illegible] the voyage drew near its end [illegible] the ship's officers [illegible] themselves [illegible] *[illegible]* and I passed [illegible] English.

Off the coast of Sicily, in the port of Catania, I wrote a sea [illegible] was [illegible] more than an imitation of a well-known song [illegible]. [illegible] were [illegible] me.[2] [illegible] as [illegible] others, singing at night as the [illegible] watch on deck, [illegible] the [illegible] with [illegible]

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[2] [In English.]

Soon afterwards I heard [illegible] say: "See Naples [illegible] Naples [illegible] very [illegible] beauty to [illegible] visit [illegible] in a carriage [illegible] as we were listening to [illegible] and went to [illegible] anything more serious than the [illegible] beggars.

From Naples to Leghorn is one night by boat, during which I slept [illegible] poor dream [illegible] woke me up just at the end of the following dream, which must, therefore, have taken place just before waking.

First, I was vaguely conscious of the words, "when the morning stars sang together," which served as the prelude, if I may so express myself, [illegible] reverberating through the universe. But, [illegible] all this was mixed up with choruses from oratorios given by one of the leading musical societies of New York, and with indistinct memories of Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Then from out of this medley words slowly appeared, and a little later they arranged themselves in three stanzas, in my handwriting, on a sheet of ordinary blue-lined writing paper in a page of my old poetry album that I always carry with me; in short, they appeared to me exactly as they did in reality a few minutes later in my book.

That was the moment when my mother called out to me, "Come, wake up! You [illegible] Pisa!"[1] This made me jump out of bed, saying, "Don't speak to me! Not a word! I have just had the most beautiful dream in my life, a real poem; I have seen the words, the verses, even the refrain. Where is my note-book? I must write it down at once before I forget it." My [illegible] writing [illegible] and even [illegible] as quickly as I could put it into sentences. It took me some minutes [illegible] my note-book and a pencil and I wrote [illegible] short though it was, this delay was enough for my immediate recollection of the dream to have begun to fade a little, so that, when I was ready to write, the words had lost something of their clearness. However, the first verse came easily enough, the second was harder to recollect, and it cost me a great effort to re-memorize the last one, distracted as I was by the feeling that I cut a rather ridiculous figure perched on the upper bunk of the cabin and scribbling away half dressed while my mother made fun of me. Thus, the first version left something to be desired. My duties as a guide absorbed me after this, until the end of our long voyage, and it was not until some months later, when I was installed at Lausanne for my studies, that the thought of this dream came back to haunt me in the calm of loneliness. Then I produced a second version of my poem, more exact than the first, I mean much closer to the original dream. I give it here in both forms.

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[1] [In English.]

FIRST VERSION [4]

When God had first made Sound
A myriad ears sprang into being
And throughout all the Universe
Rolled a mighty echo:
"Glory to the God of Sound!"

When beauty (light) first was given by God,
A myriad eyes sprang out to see
And hearing ears and seeing eyes
Again gave forth that mighty song:
"Glory to the God of Beauty (Light)!"

When God has first given Love,
A myriad hearts leapt up,
And ears full of music, eyes all full of Beauty,
Hearts all full of love sang:
"Glory to the God of Love!"

SECOND VERSION (more exact) [4]

When the Eternal first made Sound
A myriad ears sprang out to hear,
And throughout all the Universe
There rolled an echo deep and clear:
"All glory to the God of Sound!"

When the Eternal first made Light,
A myriad eyes sprang out to look,
And hearing ears and seeing eyes,
Once more a mighty choral took:
"All glory to the God of Light!"

When the Eternal first gave Love,
A myriad hearts sprang into life,
Ears filled with music, eyes with light,
Pealed forth with hearts with love all rife:
"All glory to the God of Love!"

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[4] [Both versions in English.]

3. Never having been an adept in spiritualism or the contra-natural (which I distinguish from the supernatural), I set to work, some months afterwards, trying to find out the probable causes and the necessary conditions for such a dream.

What struck me most, and still seems to me like an unexplained fantasy, is that, contrary to the Mosaic account, in which I had always believed, my poem put the creation of light in the second place instead of the first. It may be of interest to recall that Anaxagoras, too, makes the cosmos arise out of chaos by means of a whirlwind—which does not normally occur without producing a noise. But at that time I had not yet made a study of philosophy and I knew nothing either of Anaxagoras or of his theories about the νοῦς, which I was then unconsciously following. I was in equally complete ignorance of the name of Leibniz and consequently of his doctrine "cum Deus calculat fit mundus." But let us come to what I have discovered concerning the probable sources of my dream.

In the first place, there is Milton's *Paradise Lost*, of which we had a fine edition at home, illustrated by Gustave Doré, and which I have known well since childhood. Then the Book of Job, which has been read aloud to me ever since I can remember. Now, if you compare my first line with the first words of *Paradise Lost*, you find it is in the same metre (⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ —).

Of man's first disobedience . . .
When the Eternal first made sound

Moreover, the general idea of my poem is slightly reminiscent of various passages in Job, and also of one or two places in Handel's oratorio *The Creation*,* which appeared in the confusion at the beginning of the dream.

I remember that, at the age of fifteen, I was very much excited by an article my mother had read to me, about the idea spontaneously creating its own object, and I passed almost the whole night without sleep, wondering what it could all mean. From the age of nine to sixteen, I used to go on Sundays to a Presbyterian church, where the pastor was a highly cultivated man, now president of a well-known college. And in one of the

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* [Probably Haydn's *Creation* is meant.—C.G.J.]

II. THE MOTH AND THE SUN: A HYPNAGOGIC POEM

The day before I left Geneva for Paris I had been extremely exhausted. I had made an excursion to the Salève, and on my return I found a telegram that obliged me to settle my affairs and depart within the space of two hours. My trip on the train was such that I barely slept an hour. It was terribly hot in the ladies' compartment. I was asleep(?) when I lifted my head from the hard seat to search for a pillow, sat up and stretched my stiff limbs. A little butterfly or moth was fluttering around the light that shone through the glass panes before the curtain that was swinging with the motion of the train. I then tried to go to sleep again, and almost succeeded; I found myself as near asleep as possible without being actually so. It was then that the following poem composed itself in my mind. It was impossible to rid myself of it, in spite of my efforts. I took a pencil and wrote it down at once:

*The Moth to the Sun**

I longed for thee when first I crawled to consciousness.
My dreams were all of thee when in the chrysalis I lay.
Oft myriads of my kind beat out their lives
Against some feeble spark once caught from thee.
And one hour more—and my poor life is gone;
Yet my last effort, as my first desire, shall be
But to approach thy glory; then, having gained
One raptured glance, I'll die content,
For I, the source of beauty, warmth, and life
Have in his perfect splendor once beheld!

This little poem made a profound impression on me. I could not at first find a sufficiently clear and direct explanation of it

* [illegible] of the page, where the [illegible] I crawled to consciousness. [illegible]

[illegible] I have [illegible] I see myself [illegible] growing [illegible] large [illegible] myself awake without being able to understand what is the [illegible] Chaos, Cosmos, and "the Gift of Love."

With regard to dreams I recollect that once at the age of fifteen when I was preparing for an examination in geometry and had gone to bed without being able to solve a problem I awoke in the middle of the night, sat up in bed, repeated to myself a lemma that I had never before seen [illegible] and then went to sleep again and in the morning everything had become clear in my mind. Something very similar happened to me with a Latin word I was trying to remember. I have also dreamed many times that friends far away have written to me and [illegible] letters from them [illegible] explanation of which is very simple: while I was asleep I calculated approximately the time they would be likely to write to me and that the time of the letters' actual arrival was [illegible] the extent of the expected probable arrival. I draw this conclusion [illegible] several times had dreams of receiving letters that were not followed by their arrival.

To sum up, when I reflect upon the foregoing and upon the fact that I had [illegible] a number of [illegible] at the age of my dream, the dream does not seem to me so extraordinary as it did at first. I seem to [illegible] *Paradise Lost* [illegible] *The Creation* [illegible] notions like the [illegible] "the Gift of Love," "Chaos" and "Cosmos." [illegible] terms [illegible] aesthetics and religion [illegible] were blended together under the stimulation of the [illegible] capable [illegible] to produce [illegible] there was only [illegible] *[illegible]* Only this and nothing more!"[6]

[6] [Quoted in English [illegible] French.]

But a few days afterwards, having again taken up a philosophical [illegible] that I had read in part the previous winter, when I was [illegible] of the extremities, and reading it aloud to a friend, I came upon these words: [illegible] the same passionate clinging of the [illegible] to the star, of man to God . . . . I had completely forgotten them, but it seemed to me quite obvious that these were the words that had reappeared in my hypnagogic poem. Moreover, a play entitled *The Moth and the Flame*,* which I saw a few years ago, also came back to me as another possible source of my poem. You see how often the word *Moth* has been impressed upon me. I would add that in the spring I had been reading a selection of Byron's poems that pleased me greatly and that I read over quite often. Moreover, there is a great similarity [illegible] between my two last lines, For I, the source, etc. and these two of Byron's:

Now let me die as I have lived in faith
Nor tremble though the Universe should quake!

It is possible that [illegible] read this book had an [illegible] towards my inspiration, as [illegible] view of meaning as of rhythm and as form

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* A comedy [illegible] by the American playwright Clyde Fitch, produced in New York in [illegible] the following [illegible] from a review in the New York [illegible] is given here in extenso because of [illegible] and [illegible] forms.

The Moth and the Flame [illegible] party given by Mr. and Mrs. Wilson [illegible] New York home [illegible] daughter Marion has [illegible] the love of [illegible] a man of somewhat [illegible] nominal [illegible] announcement [illegible] of [illegible] be a swindler and [illegible] Marion [illegible] Fletcher has [illegible] Marion's father [illegible] after [illegible] her mother's arms [illegible] the [illegible] while a [illegible] and sing about the [illegible] and Fletcher as Marion's [illegible] to stand by the Wilsons.

[illegible] the wedding of Fletcher and Marion [illegible] by Mrs. Wilson. The ceremony [illegible] stopped by a woman who demands that Fletcher shall marry her and give a name to her child. [illegible] the woman's story [illegible] Marion [illegible] between the [illegible] couple. [illegible] Fletcher [illegible] blow. Marion [illegible] horrified [illegible]

Comparing this poem, which came to me in a half-waking dream state, with, on the one hand, those written when I was awake and, on the other hand, the previous poem [See II, above] that came when I was fast asleep, it seems to me that these three categories form a perfectly natural series. The intermediate state establishes a simple and easy transition between the two extremes, and thus dispels any suspicion of an intervention of the "occult" that one might have had about the poem I produced while asleep.

IV. 'CHIWANTOPEL': A HYPNAGOGIC DRAMA

Borderland phenomena, or, if you prefer, the productions of the brain in the half-dreaming state, are of particular interest to me, and I believe that a detailed and intelligent examination of them would do much to clear up the mystery of so-called "spirits" and dispel superstition concerning them. It is with this idea in mind that I am sending you an observation which, in the hands of someone less careful of the exact truth or less scrupulous about indulging in embroideries or amplifications, might very well give rise to some fantastic romance that would outdo the fictitious ramblings of your mediums. I have rewritten the following observation as faithfully as possible from the notes I made immediately after the half-dream in question, and have limited myself to the insertion between brackets [ ] of one or two remarks and of letters referring to the explanatory notes that follow.

Observation of 17 March 1902. Half an hour after midnight.

1st Phase.—After an evening of trouble and anxiety, I had gone to bed at half past eleven. I felt restless, unable to sleep

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Coward!' and, flinging the wedding bouquet at his feet, rushes from the chapel. In the last act, Fletcher seeks to frighten Marion into marrying him by telling her that her father had owed his respected position to the fact that his, Fletcher's, money had preserved the honour of the Walton name in the wor[illegible]. But she rejects his advances and espouses the [illegible]. Rhodes Fletcher in turn [illegible] vows to marry the woman he had scorned, and so ends the play.—EDITORS.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

For a hundred moons since I left my father's palace, I have been forever pursued by my mad desire to find her who will understand. With jewels I tempted many beautiful women; with kisses tried I to draw out the secrets of their hearts; with deeds of daring I won their admiration. (He reviews one after another the women he has known.) Chi-ta, the princess of my own race . . . she was a fool, vain as a peacock, without a thought in her head except trinkets and perfumes. Ta-nan, the peasant girl . . . bah, a perfect sow, nothing but a bust and a belly, thinking of nothing but pleasure. And then Ki-ma, the priestess, a mere parrot, repeating the empty phrases learnt from the priests, all for show, without real understanding or sincerity, mistrustful, affected, hypocritical! . . . Alas! Not one who understands me, not one who resembles me or has a soul that is sister to mine. There is not one among them all who has known my soul, not one who could read my thoughts—far from it; not one capable of seeking the shining summits with me, or of spelling out with me the superhuman word Love!

(A lacuna.) He cries aloud: In all the world there is not a single one! I have searched among a hundred tribes. I have aged a hundred moons since I began. Will there never be any one who will know my soul? Yes, by almighty God, yes! But ten thousand moons will wax and wane before her pure soul is born. And it is from another world that her parents will come to this one. She will be fair of skin and fair of hair. She will know sorrow even before her mother bears her. Suffering will be her companion; she too will seek, and will find no one who understands her. Many a suitor will wish to pay court to her, but not one will know how to understand her. Temptation will often assail her soul, but she will not yield. . . . In her dreams I shall come to her, and she will understand. . . . I have kept my body inviolate. I have come ten thousand moons before her time, and she will come ten thousand moons too late. *But she will understand!* It is but once in ten thousand moons that a soul like hers is born.

(A lacuna.) A green viper darts out of the bushes, glides towards him, and stings him in the arm, then it attacks his horse, which is the first to succumb. Then Chiwantopel says to his horse: Farewell, faithful brother! Enter into your rest! I have loved you and you have served me well. Farewell, I shall rejoin you soon." Then to the serpent: "Thanks, little sister, you have put an end to my wanderings." Now he shrieks with pain and calls out in prayer: "Almighty God, take me soon! I have sought to know thee and to keep thy law. Oh, suffer not my body to fall into rottenness and decay, and become carrion for the eagles!" A smoking volcano appears in the distance [note k]; the rumbling of an earthquake is heard, followed by a landslide. Chiwantopel cries out in an extremity of anguish as the earth closes over his body: "Ah! she will understand! Ja-ni-wa-ma, Ja-ni-wa-ma, thou that understandest me!"

Remarks and Explanatory Notes

You will agree, I think, that as a work of imagination, this hypnagogic fantasy is well worth a little attention. It is certainly not wanting in complexity and strangeness of form, and one may even claim a certain originality for its combination of themes. One might even be able to make it into a kind of melodrama in one act. If I were personally inclined to exaggerate the purport of compositions of this kind, and were not able to recognize the subliminal elements in this phantasmagoria, I might let myself go so far as to regard Chiwantopel as my "control" or spirit-guide, after the manner of so many mediums. I need hardly tell you that I do no such thing. So let us look for the probable sources of this little account.

First, as to the name Chiwantopel: one day, when I was fully awake, there suddenly came into my mind the word "Ahamarama," surrounded by an Assyrian decoration, and I had only to compare it with other names I already knew, such as Ahasuerus, Asurabama (who made cuneiform bricks), to detect its origin. Similarly, were I to compare Chiwantopel with Popocatapetl,[10] the name of a volcano in Central America as we have been taught to pronounce it, the similarity of construction is striking.

I note also that on the previous day I had received a letter from Naples, on the envelope of which there was a view of Vesuvius smoking in the distance [k]. In my childhood I was particularly interested in Aztec remains and in the history of Peru and the Incas [j and k]. I had recently visited a fascinating exhibition of Indians, with their costumes, etc., which have found a quite appropriate place in the dream [D]. The well-known passage in Shakespeare[11] where Cassius bares his breast to Brutus furnishes me with an easy explanation of scene [E], and scene [F] recalls to me the story of Buddha leaving his father's home, or equally, the story of Rasselas, prince of Abyssinia, by Samuel Johnson. There are many details, too, which make one think of the Song of Hiawatha, Longfellow's Indian epic, whose rhythm has been unconsciously followed in several passages of Chiwantopel's soliloquy. And his burning need for someone who resembles himself [G] presents the greatest analogy with Siegfried's feelings for Brunhilde, so marvellously expressed by Wagner.—Finally [I], I had recently heard a lecture by Felix Adler on the Inviolable Personality (The inviolate Personality[12]).

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[10] Sic. Regularly Popocatepetl, a volcano in central Mexico.

In the feverish life one leads in New York, a thousand different elements are often mixed in the total impression of a single day. Concerts, lectures, books, reviews, theatrical performances, etc., there is enough to put your brain in quite a whirl. It is said that nothing of what enters into your mind is ever completely lost; that some association of ideas, or a certain conjunction of circumstances, may be enough to reanimate even the slightest impression. It seems that this may apply in many cases. For example, here the details of the *dream city* [C] reproduced almost exactly those on the cover of one of the reviews I had lately been reading. So it is possible after all that this whole affair may be nothing more than a mosaic of the following elements:

A.—Aztec remains and history of the Incas of Peru.
B.—Pizarro in Peru.
C.—Engravings and illustrations recently seen in various magazines.
D.—Exhibition of Indians with their costumes, etc.
E.—Recollection of a passage from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*.
F.—Departure of Buddha and of Rasselas.
G. and H.—Siegfried's longing after Brunhilde.
I.—Memory of a lecture on the Inviolable Personality.
K.—View of Vesuvius on the envelope of a letter.

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[11] *Julius Caesar*, Act IV, scene 3. [12 Sic, in English.]

And now if I add that, for days before, I had been in quest of 'an original idea,' not much effort is required to see that this mosaic may have formed itself out of the multitude of impressions that are necessarily encountered in a very busy life, and may have taken on this fantastic oneiric form. This was about midnight, and it may be that my fatigue and torment of mind had to some degree disturbed or deformed the current of my thoughts.

P.S. I fear that my concern for exactitude may have induced me to give my observations rather too personal a turn. But I hope—and this is my excuse—that they may help others to free their minds from things of the same kind that are worrying them and do something to clear up the more complex phenomena that are often presented by mediums.

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- [AV] Authorized ("King James") Version (cited unless otherwise indicated).
- [DV] Douay-Reims Version.
- [RSV] Revised Standard Version (1952).
- [ZB] Zürcher Bibel (first trans. [illegible] cited in English trans. from a 1932 edn. published by the Consistory of Canton Zurich on the order of the Zurich Church Synod, being the German version generally used by the author).

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LINGUISTIC ABBREVIATIONS

Armen.	Armenian	Lith.	Lithuanian
Att.	Attic	MHG.	Middle High German
Celt.	Celtic	OBulg.	Old Bulgarian
Church Slav.	Church Slavonic	OE.	Old English (Anglo-Saxon)
		OHG.	Old High German
E., Eng.	English	OIce.	Old Icelandic
F.	French	OInd.	Old Indic
G.	German	OIr.	Old Irish
Goth.	Gothic	OIran.	Old Iranian
Gr.	Greek	ON.	Old Norse
Icel.	Icelandic	Skr.	Sanskrit
IEur.	Indo-European	Slav.	Slavonic
Lat.	Latin	Ved.	Vedic

* indicates a hypothetical form

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THE COLLECTED WORKS OF

C. G. JUNG

THE PUBLICATION of the first complete edition, in English, of the works of C. G. Jung was undertaken by Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., in England and by Bollingen Foundation in the United States. The American edition is number XX in Bollingen Series, which since 1967 has been published by Princeton University Press. The edition contains revised versions of works previously published, such as *Psychology of the Unconscious*, which is now entitled *Symbols of Transformation*; works originally written in English, such as *Psychology and Religion*; works not previously translated, such as *Aion*; and, in general, new translations of virtually all of Professor Jung's writings. Prior to his death, in 1961, the author supervised the textual revision, which in some cases is extensive. Sir Herbert Read (d. 1968), Dr. Michael Fordham, and Dr. Gerhard Adler compose the Editorial Committee; the translator is R. F. C. Hull (except for Volume 2) and William McGuire is executive editor.

The price of the volumes varies according to size; they are sold separately, and may also be obtained on standing order. Several of the volumes are extensively illustrated. Each volume contains an index and in most a bibliography; the final volume will contain a complete bibliography of Professor Jung's writings and a general index to the entire edition.

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